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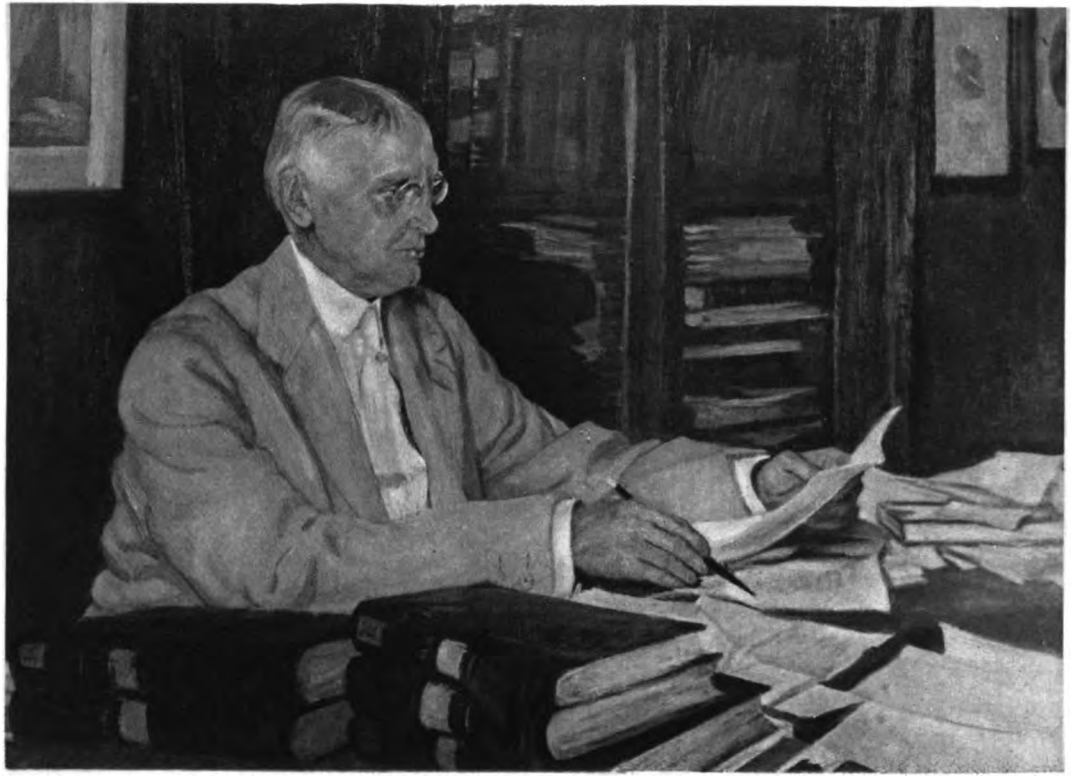

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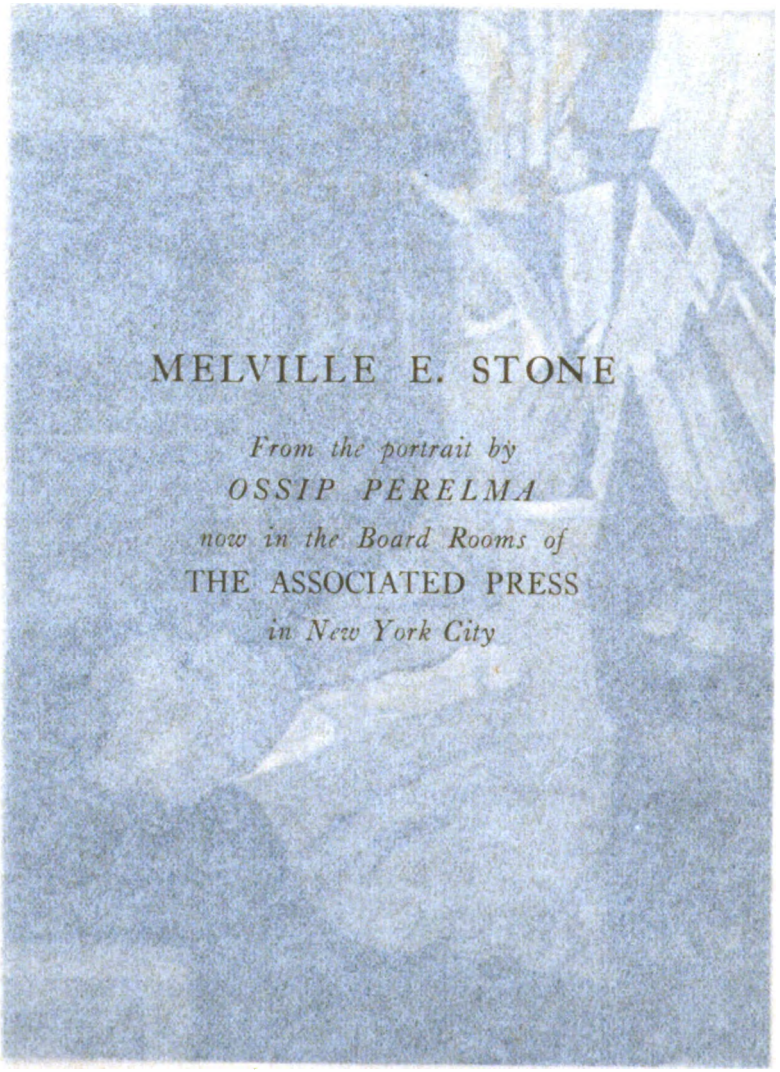

MELVILLE E. STONE

From the portrait by
OSSIP PERELMA
now in the Board Rooms of
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
in New York City

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"M. E. S."

HIS BOOK

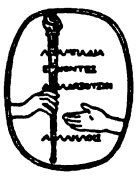
A TRIBUTE AND A SOUVENIR
OF THE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
1893-1918
OF THE SERVICE OF

MELVILLE E. STONE

as

General Manager of

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
MCMXVIII

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Printed in the United States of America
Published April, 1918

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

MELVILLE E. STONE has served The Associated Press as its General Manager during the entire period of twenty-five years since the Association was first founded under the laws of the State of Illinois. His appointment was confirmed by the Board of Directors on the 3d of March, 1893, and from that day to this, through the most momentous epoch in the history of the world, he has labored unceasingly in the leadership and upbuilding of the great co-operative organization of American newspapers which has won a high reputation for efficiency, fair dealing and accuracy in reporting the activities of men and of nations in peace and war.

This book has been compiled in pursuance of a resolution of the Board of Directors of The Associated Press as a souvenir of a quarter-century of struggle and achievement in the making of a great instrumentality for the service of mankind and as a tribute to the character and work of the man who has stood continuously at its helm, a faithful type of its spirit and a leader in its achievements.

The following Resolution of the Board expresses the sentiments of the one thousand members of The Associated Press:

> *Whereas*, Melville E. Stone, on the 3d of March, 1918, completed a period of twenty-five years as General Manager of The Associated Press; first leading with unflagging courage and determination in the battle which freed the telegraphic news service

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of the Nation from control and exploitation by selfish private interests, and with wise enthusiasm and clear vision laboring for the firm establishment of the co-operative principle in ownership and management; then with extraordinary resourcefulness and constructive genius planning and directing the development of a world-wide system of news-gathering and distribution—always with unswerving devotion to the highest ideals of the newspaper profession and the best standards of American citizenship;

Resolved: That a suitable volume be compiled, to set forth in permanent form the record of the service of Melville E. Stone, his life and activities as a loyal and public-spirited American citizen; his contributions by voice and pen to the advancement of the cause of liberty and of freedom of speech and of the press as furthered by a clean, responsible, efficient, and courageous American journalism; and more particularly his work for and in The Associated Press, to whose character, growth, and achievements he has contributed so much of fidelity, industry, and inspiration.

Resolved: That upon the occasion of the Annual Meeting of The Associated Press in April, 1918, a copy of this volume be delivered to each member of the Association, and that a special copy, suitably bound and inscribed, be presented to Mr. Stone, with due expression of the admiration, gratitude, and affection of his colleagues.

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"M. E. S."—HIS BOOK

"MY DEAR MEL"

By Victor F. Lawson

Victor F. Lawson and Melville E. Stone have been partners for more than forty years —partners, as he says, in "the then little adventure of the Chicago 'Daily News,'" and in "the great adventure of The Associated Press." Lawson followed Stone in the Directorate of the Western Associated Press. Mr. Lawson was the first President of The Associated Press of Illinois, and he has served continuously on the Board of Directors of The Associated Press in its present organization. It seems peculiarly fitting that this volume should open with his affectionate tribute of personal admiration and fellowship.

MY DEAR MEL:

For fifty years we have known each other, and for more than forty years we have been intimately associated. Out of the memories of the years I give you this day the greetings of affectionate friendship.

Some one has said that the great things of life often lie with their little ends toward us. It was a little thing that nearly forty-two years ago you asked me to join you in the then little adventure of *The Daily News*. But it was a great thing that twenty-five

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years ago, as a direct consequence of our earlier association, you and I, and the friends who are now gone, joined in the great adventure of The Associated Press.

And how little a thing it was—that four-page, five-column *Daily News*, "published somewhere on Fifth Avenue behind a tree," as a condescending five-cent contemporary observed—that brought us together forty-two years ago, and how great a thing, world-wide in its activities and its consequence, has been born out of the convictions and the labors of the later years—labors in which you and I have been privileged to have a part with the good men and true of those early days and those who remain unto this present.

You have now rounded out a quarter of a century in the service of The Associated Press. I congratulate you, and The Associated Press. When you were called to this service—and I say "called" advisedly—the import and large consequence of the high calling already foreshadowed themselves to your and our recognition. You came to the work in a day of stress when, in very truth, the independence of the American press was challenged by a selfish commercialism. How well you bore your part through all those years of anxious conflict, and how faithfully and wisely you contributed in these and later days to those constructive labors upon which has been reared the structure of the American co-operative news service, is in a very large measure the history of The Associated Press.

But not alone to us of the newspaper calling have you given the loyalty and strength of your years, but in a very real sense, and in a measure that only we who share with you the like responsibility for the maintenance of the wellsprings of public information and right action pure and untainted by sinister influences can fully appreciate, your life has been truly

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devoted to the public good. In a word, in all these years you have been the right man in the right place, a place of high service and of corresponding honor. And so I congratulate you on both your opportunity and your success. And I congratulate The Associated Press not only on what has been accomplished in all these years under your directing hand, but also that the past is but an earnest of the future as you bring to each day's service the gathering resources—the added experience and the ripened judgment—of the years, each better than the last. May the years that remain be many, as many, for you and for us, as the all-ruling love that is better to us each than can be our own desires shall permit.

And so, as these things of the past crowd upon the memory, shall we not say—you and I, partner—that along with the chastening sorrows of life—mysteries which it is not given us now to understand—have come to us both the generous rewards of service, and that unto us the lines have indeed fallen in pleasant places. And at the last—whether it come soon or late—for you and for us and for all we love, may it be light at eventide.

Yours in the fellowship of the years,

VICTOR F. LAWSON.

CHICAGO, *Feb. 4, 1918.*

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"M. E. S."—HIS BOOK

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MELVILLE E. STONE

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

By John Palmer Gavit

WHEN Melville Elijah Stone comes to write his autobiography he may well take the title for it from the famous words of Æneas to Dido, "All of which I saw." Nor would he be greatly overstraining the allusion were he to add the rest of it, "And a great part of which I was." If there is an American, living or dead, who during the seventy years since, on August 22, 1848, "M. E. S." first opened his eyes upon this eventful world, or during any other threescore years and ten, saw and participated in more of such great doings as constitute "high spots" in history, or who in such a space of time knew personally, not to say intimately, a greater number of the men whose names bulk large in national and world affairs, I do not know his name.

The seventy years since 1848 have included vital times and happenings in the world; the speed of human progress has accelerated in geometric ratio; the entire industrial and economic fabric of society has been changed by the rise and diffusion of mechanical invention and the factory system; transoceanic traffic and cable communication have all but abolished distance between the nations; and now, at the closing of the period, a vast movement toward international democracy is culminating in the greatest and bloodiest of international wars. Any man who lived through such a period, with eyes open and mind alert, would witness enough to

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satisfy the most insatiable "lust of seeing things." Add to an unusual equipment of eyes and mind the responsibility for operating during a quarter-century a world-wide organization of trained observers, and a globe-surrounding system of high-speed communication, with constantly multiplying opportunities to meet face to face the commanding figures of the men who make events happen, and you will have a bulk of memories and acquaintance given to few men under the sun. This is an entirely moderate statement of what the years have brought to Melville E. Stone.

Sit down with him now, in the March that crowns twenty-five years of service with The Associated Press, and get him to talk over the things that he has seen and the folk with whom he has associated in all these eventful years. Hardly can you name a man, high or low, monarch or statesman, inventor or merchant, labor leader or politician, soldier or preacher, whose personality and activities have had much influence in the affairs of the world, but Stone has broken bread or crossed swords with him. Hardly can you mention a great happening that stirred the blood of the world during two generations, but he was there or thereabouts, keenly observing the reactions of it or organizing the machinery that told the world of its ins and outs. At your breakfast-table in your morning paper you have taken as a matter of course his handiwork; upon your confidence in the reliability of his subordinates you have staked your judgment of the world's affairs, and in the business of your daily life you have been guided by what they told you of what your fellow-men in all activities of life were doing.

Few men realize the great public service that has been rendered to the American people and to the world by the men who formed the present organization of The Associated Press. In its earlier forms it was tremendously useful; but its character and integrity were in peril of misuse and sinister perversion to ignoble ends.

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MELVILLE E. STONE, 1918
(From a pen-and-ink drawing by Modest Stein)

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MELVILLE E. STONE, 1918
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MELVILLE E. STONE

Melville Stone and his associates more than twenty years ago wrested the telegraphic news service of the country from selfish hands into which it had fallen, and with steadily increasing success have built the great co-operative organization of American newspapers which is now and in time to come will be still more a sufficient monument for any man or group of men.

There is something more. At this very writing there is awaiting the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States an issue involving a central matter in the fabric of The Associated Press and its service to the public—that is, the question whether its honest and unselfish labor in the interest of the truth shall be stolen, with or without distortion of the facts, by those who for years have been parasites upon its industry. If the highest court shall confirm the judgment of the courts below in sustaining the principle of the right of Property in News it will place the capstone upon that structure which Melville Stone and his colleagues have erected in the great educational association founded upon the cornerstone of mutual welfare and co-operation. In the activities leading up to this consummation, and in the daily work underlying it, the figure of Stone has been dominant, and he has achieved for himself what will more and more appear an unique place in the history of American journalism.

Yet he would be the last to claim for himself, even so much as the bare facts accord to him, the credit for what has been accomplished. Never has he failed to deprecate any such pre-eminence for himself. "Victor F. Lawson of the Chicago *Daily News*, Charles W. Knapp of the St. Louis *Republic*, Frederick Driscoll of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, and those associated with them in that contest," said Mr. Stone, for example, in his series of articles about The Associated Press in the *Century Magazine* in April, May, June, July, and August, 1905,* "deserve the lasting gratitude of the

* Reprinted in this volume, page 91, *et seq.*

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American people for having established, at a vast cost of time, labor, and money, a method of news gathering and distribution free from the chance of contamination." And again, in *Collier's Weekly*, July 11, 1914,* speaking of the men who founded the present organization of The Associated Press, he said:

> With a full appreciation of their responsibility, and a full recognition of their duty to the American people, they sought to work out the problem before them in the best possible fashion. If they did not succeed, then the effort of as patriotic and well-minded a set of men as this country has ever known is a failure. At one stage of the contest they pledged themselves for hundreds of thousands of dollars as a guaranty fund to break the chains which, at the moment, bound the American press to enslavement to three men.

In other words, and repeatedly, he has paid tribute to the "strong and devoted body of men" who worked together to free the news service of the nation from the grasp of self-seekers and profit-making exploiters; always has he accorded to them the credit for the victorious battle for the liberty and self-respect of the American press, ignoring or at least minimizing his own doughty service on the firing-line. On the other hand, neither to himself nor to his associates has he arrogated the rights or privileges of "insiders." Absolutely typical of the spirit of the thing is this that he wrote in the *Service Bulletin* of The Associated Press in January, 1905:

> . . . The Associated Press is the property of its members, each of whom should feel a sense of responsibility respecting it, and should be disposed to exercise freely their right to make suggestions for its betterment. It is often the most valuable asset of a newspaper, yet there are editors who treat it as a hostile concern and permit editorials denouncing it to appear in their columns. As well might they denounce in an editorial their specials or the machinery upon which their papers are printed.

* "Criticisms of the Associated Press," in this volume, p. 273 *et seq.*

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In all this business, in all the aspects and relationships of life, Melville Stone has been typically American and democratic to the roots of his being; efficient and commanding in his executive functions—after the American fashion; simple, unassuming, unaffected, sympathetic, friendly—after the American fashion. Something in the fiber of his character has made him at one with men of every kind.

* * * *

THE reason is not far to seek. He has lived an intensely American life, and it has carried him over almost the whole gamut of American experience. His biography represents in a very real sense a cross-section of American history during a most significant and eventful period. He was not born in a log cabin, to be sure, nor has he worked as a day-laborer, but his childhood was passed in very straitened circumstances. His father, the Rev. Elijah Stone, was a Methodist circuit-rider on the prairies of northern Illinois, and at the time when Melville Stone was born, at Hudson, McLean County, his income did not much exceed three hundred dollars a year. Needless to say, that spelled economy! As Mr. Stone himself says:

"That three hundred dollars included the annual 'donation,' from which we received some help, no doubt, but a large part of it consisted of things of no use or benefit whatever. You may imagine the stringency of the situation from the fact that to eke out his living my father had to resort to many expedients from which your modern preacher certainly would shrink—such, for instance, as making and selling 'Stone's Chinese Liniment for Man and Beast.' And when the daguerreotype came over from France he secured a camera and set himself up as portrait-taker to the community.'

The Methodist rule of itineracy, under which in those days a preacher could stay only two years in one place, moved the family all over central and northern Illinois,

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almost always in comparatively small places. I do not know whether they ever joked themselves—any Methodist preacher's family can tell you it was no joking matter—about their being "rolling Stones," but it violates no family secret to assert that they "gathered no moss." And in all these travels they tasted the bitterness of poverty, and one may venture to believe that out of those days comes the background for a deep sympathy with the struggles of the respectable poor which has been characteristic of Melville Stone throughout his life.

There was another thing that made its impress. His father's house was a station on the Underground Railroad—that great secret interlocking system of human hands and hearts that extended along the borderland between North and South by which runaway negro slaves were passed along from the land of bondage to Canada, the law of the land to the contrary notwithstanding. The little boy who saw this thing in operation in his own home, and who helped to keep the secret that protected the lives of black fellow-men in their dire peril, never afterward could be deaf to the appeal of humanity in distress or unresponsive to the aspiration for liberty on the part of men and women of any race.

If there be anything in the belief prevailing among newspaper men that a specific microbe infests those who belong to the craft and that once it has bitten you there is no cure forever and ever, I suspect young Stone got his infection one day in 1858, when he was ten years old, at DeKalb Center, when a quaint old gentleman sat in the "pastor's pew" in his father's church and scandalized the boy by appearing to go sound asleep during the sermon. After church this old gentleman went home with them, and during the dinner-table conversation displayed minute recollection of the sermon and discussed it vigorously with the preacher. The following evening he lectured in the church. His name was Horace Greeley.

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But not even Greeley can be held responsible for the fact that something like eighteen or nineteen members of the family of Melville Stone's mother, who was Sophia Creighton, have engaged in journalism. Anyway, long before he was twenty years old young Stone had his hands in printer's ink, and any newspaper man can tell you that one drop of it on human fingers is fatal.

About 1860 the family moved (for a second time) to Chicago, where the Rev. Elijah Stone was assigned to the old Desplaines Street Methodist Church, now known as Centenary Church, and Melville entered the Chicago High School on Monroe Street near Halsted—the same school now called the West Division High School—and there got all that he has had in the way of formal schooling, a fact quite ignored, or, better still, duly appreciated, by Yale University when it made him a Master of Arts, and by Ohio Wesleyan University and Middlebury College when they gave him each the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

He did study French in those days—in a country store. Or, rather, French, of a kind, was inflicted upon him. He and his brother Ormond (the latter now a distinguished astronomer) stayed at school in Chicago when the family was transferred to Kankakee; but in the summer vacation Melville went home and "clerked" in Frederick Swannell's store. Bourbonnais, a few miles from Kankakee, was a French-Canadian settlement, and they talked there French, of a sort—a sort such that from that day to this it has annoyed Melville Stone, who much prefers when he speaks French to use the Parisian variety. It is only fair to add that Stone's French nowadays is perfectly good French.

It was in 1864 that he first dipped actually into newspaper work, the real thing. One of his classmates in the high school was John F. Ballentyne, son of the commercial editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, and the latter invited young Stone to join his staff during the summer vacation of that year. At first he worked in Mr. Bal-

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lentyne's department, but it was not long before he was "on the street" as a reporter. Great things lie in the background of the memory of those summer days—one of them was the simultaneous announcement of the capture of Vicksburg by Grant and the victory at Gettysburg. The *Tribune* staff celebrated both with fireworks.

At that period Stone had no notion of being permanently a newspaper man. He thought he wanted to be a lawyer, and under the supervision of the firm of Brackett, Waite & Wilder was spending evenings studying law. It was no perfunctory relationship. Judge Waite, who had been chief justice of the territory of Utah, was a lawyer of distinction; but more vital than that to Stone was the fact that the judge and Mrs. Waite had been classmates with his father and mother at Knox College. But it was not to be. Along with the Greeley microbe there worked very lively doubts in his mother's mind as to the possibility of her boy's being at once a lawyer and a good man. One is entitled to draw inferences as to the net conclusion of those doubts from the undeniable fact that at his mother's urgent behest Melville Stone abandoned his ambitions in that direction.

Even then he was, as he had been from earliest boyhood, and has been ever since, an eager and appreciative reader of newspapers, interested in every sort of doings in every part of the world. It was his custom to rise early and, *en déshabillé*, get the morning paper fresh from the newsboy's hand. Those were days, almost like these of 1918, when the news from day to day came very close to one's own flesh and blood; when from the first page of any issue there might leap forth tidings that some one near and dear had fallen in the war that then was filling North and South with tragedy. During the most impressionable years of this lad's boyhood, from twelve to seventeen, the Civil War was raging. On a certain morning in April, 1865, half-dressed at the front-

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door of his father's house on West Madison Street in Chicago, Melville Stone found in the morning paper a thing. . . . Let him tell it:

". . . It was scarcely dawn as I bounded through the house, crying out the dreadful news of the assassination of President Lincoln. . . . I dressed as fast as I could, and, without waiting for breakfast or anything else, hurried to the *Tribune* office. I had worked there under Mr. Ballentyne some time before, and felt that I could get access to further news of this incredible disaster. When I reached the place I could not get into the building because of the dense crowd. The street was packed. The windows were filled with bulletins, and their purport was repeated from mouth to mouth. It seemed that the assassins had killed not only the President, but Secretary Seward, General Grant, and the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson.

"The wild burst of rage that swept the crowd was beyond any description. The smallest spark would have precipitated a vast outbreak of violence against anything or anybody that could have been welcomed as a victim. Unable to enter the Tribune Building, I made my way around the corner to the Mattison House, which was located a block away, on the corner of Dearborn and Randolph streets. The big rotunda was packed, and excitement there as elsewhere was at the highest pitch.

"Suddenly above the roar of voices there rang out a shot, and in the middle of the room a man fell. His assailant stood there perfectly composed, and with smoking pistol in his hand justified himself:

"'He said, "It served Lincoln right!"'

"No one molested him. There was no arrest. He walked out of the place a hero. I never knew who he was."

Melville Stone was then not yet seventeen years old.

In that year Charles A. Dana came to Chicago to buy the Chicago *Republican*. After a few months a large

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company of *Tribune* men went over to him, and young Stone also joined his fortunes with the enterprise. For some two years the *Republican* went on with more or less steadily waning success. There never had been capital enough behind Dana to make the paper go, and at last he had to give it up; he went to New York and purchased the *Sun*. You cannot read the work of Dana, or of Melville Stone, in the Chicago *Republican*, because the only file of the paper was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871.

In 1868 Stone was sent to New York by the Chicago *Times* to help report the Democratic National Convention which nominated Seymour and Blair. This was the beginning of his long and intimate familiarity with national politics, but in this instance there was a humiliating episode which terminated for the moment his newspaper activities.

Young Stone wrote his story of the convention, and, feeling very inexperienced and needful of the help of an older craftsman, took it for visé to Wilbur F. Storey, editor of the *Times*, whom he found at the Hotel St. Denis, with General Singleton of Illinois, discussing affairs over a bottle of champagne. At best, Wilbur Storey was none too urbane; on this occasion the champagne may have contributed additional vigor to the vocabulary with which he ordered the young reporter off the premises. Stone sent his story to Franc B. Wilkie, his immediate superior on the convention job, and along with it his resignation from the *Times*, forthwith returning to Chicago. Once only thereafter he saw Wilbur F. Storey; that was many years afterward when he called upon him to secure his consent to an Associated Press franchise for the Chicago *Daily News*. He got it. Mr. Storey was in a better mood; he was "glad to help one of the old *Times* boys." His amiability was augmented, perhaps, by a consideration of $5,000 (the amount fixed by himself). The occasion was not marred, as one might have hoped, by any

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mention on Stone's part of the unhappy encounter of 1868.

"Even so early," says Mr. Stone in relating the incident, "I had learned that it is inexpedient to stick pins in any portion of a lion's anatomy while you have your head in his mouth."

* * * *

AFTER leaving the *Times* Stone became a manufacturer. The Rev. Elijah Stone, his father, had been compelled by failing health to relinquish the active ministry. With his brother, Nathaniel F. Stone, an inventor of some note, who had been successful in the manufacture of certain sawmill appliances, he came to Chicago and established a factory. Melville Stone had helped them in various ways, and for a time he worked in their establishment. But the printer's ink was "in his system," and within a few months it broke out upon him again and brought him forth for the first time as a full-fledged publisher in his own proper name and person. In witness whereof exists to-day a letter-heading of "Melville E. Stone, General Dealer in Saw and Flour Mills and Furnishings," incidently bearing advertisement of *The Sawyer and Mechanic*—"the Only Paper Published in the United States Devoted to Saw and Flour Mill Work." The subscription price was fifty cents, and the editor and publisher was Melville E. Stone, at 168 Clark Street. Said Stone at that time was barely twenty years of age. *The Sawyer and Mechanic* was not long-lived.

Presently his father bought for him a third interest in the Lake Shore Iron Works, a foundry and machine-shop located on the north side of Chicago near the lake front, at 371–377 Illinois Street. Presently Stone bought out his two partners, and the style became "Melville E. Stone, Maker and Factor of Hardware." The business was successful, and the young captain of industry in his mind's eye saw himself a millionaire. In the golden glow of that

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alluring prospect, three months after his twenty-first birthday, on the 25th of November, 1869, he married Miss Martha J. McFarland, daughter of John Stuart McFarland of Chicago.

One of the things manufactured by the Lake Shore Iron Works was the iron folding theater chair, which came into use about that time. Stone acquired access to a good patent, and made success with a folding-chair of his own. He supplied a thousand of them to Woods' Museum, and in the summer of 1871 got a contract to furnish another thousand for the rejuvenated Crosby Opera House. He made and installed them, and on a certain Monday in October the Opera House was to reopen with a concert by Thomas's Orchestra. On Sunday evening there was an informal inspection of the house, which was beautifully decorated and illuminated. Some one in the party, apropos of the fact that the chief stage carpenter had lost his all the night before by the burning of his home, remarked what a tragedy it would be if the Opera House should burn. Mr. Crosby laughed at the suggestion.

"I have figured it out," he said, "that there is a theater fire every five years. We had one two years ago; so we are immune for another three years."

That night the Great Fire of Chicago swept away Crosby's Opera House, together with nearly $200,000,000 of other property; took 250 human lives and left 100,000 people homeless and destitute. Incidentally, it destroyed practically everything Melville Stone had in the world—except his indomitable spirit and his impulse to be in the midst of things and to help his fellow-men. Before the flames had died down he was busy with other leaders in the public activities of Chicago planning to minister to the needs of the destitute and to restore something like normal conditions of life in the stricken city. Before long he was put in charge of the temporary barracks erected on West Madison Street for the homeless, and during the whole winter of 1871–72

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was about his business as almoner to the needy and active participant in the plans for the reconstruction of the city.

* * * *

SO THE hand of fate turned Stone back to the newspaper business. The Chicago *Republican*, struggling against adverse circumstances ever since Dana gave it up, had been one of the victims of the fire. Its astral body, so to speak, and the surviving "good-will," were purchased by Jonathan Young Scammon, a leading banker, who determined to revive the paper under the name of the *Inter-Ocean*. It happened that Mr. Scammon was president of the Chicago Astronomical Society, and through their common interest in astronomy had become acquainted with Ormond Stone. The latter had mentioned his brother Melville as a newspaper man, whom Mr. Scammon now summoned to become the managing editor of the new *Inter-Ocean*. Col. J. K. C. Forrest was made editor-in-chief.

Stone went at his job with earnestness and enterprise. He tells now, with none-too-convincing simulation of remorse, of certain exploits of his own in the way of achieving "beats" for his paper, such, for instance, as surreptitiously acquiring and giving exclusive and premature publication to the report of the fire chief upon the Great Fire, and disclosing what was designed to be a secret report of a church trial. These examples of ultra-modern newspaper enterprise won much glory for Stone in Chicago newspaperdom, but they were somewhat scantily appreciated by Mr. Scammon, whose ethical code was not adjusted to that sort of enterprise. It may be that he was not immune to the indignation of the victims of it! Anyway, there came about a shift, through which Stone became city editor of the *Inter-Ocean*, and the managing editorship passed to Elijah W. Halford, previously editor of the Indianapolis *Journal* and subsequently private secretary to President Benjamin Harrison.

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During the summer and fall of 1872 Mr. Stone did much editorial writing for the *Inter-Ocean*, especially in support of the campaign for the re-election of President Grant, a cause which the paper ardently espoused. But the experiences which already had overfilled the life of this young man of twenty-four had broken his health, and the *Inter-Ocean* gave him a long leave of absence, during which for five months he made an extensive tour of the Southern States, then in the throes of Carpet-bag Reconstruction. On this trip he made the acquaintance of many of the men who had been conspicuous figures in the Confederacy, as well as of the Northern politicians who, like a plague of grasshoppers, were then afflicting the South, prostrate, as it was, under the burdens left by the Civil War.

Upon his return to Chicago in the early summer of 1873 he found himself in no physical condition to resume the nerve-racking work of a morning newspaper, and resigned finally from the *Inter-Ocean* to take up the daytime work on an afternoon paper, in the editorship of the Chicago *Evening Mail*, a two-cent paper edited by the Rev. Oliver A. Willard, brother of Frances E. Willard, the famous temperance advocate. Almost immediately the *Mail* was consolidated with the Chicago *Evening Post*, and before long Mr. Stone went to the National Capital as Washington correspondent, where he served not only the *Post and Mail*, but also the New York *Herald*. Of course, in Washington he greatly enlarged his already wide acquaintance with national affairs and national figures, and by the time he returned to Chicago had himself achieved a journalistic reputation of enviable magnitude.

It was while in Washington, during the better part of two years, reporting the eventful sessions of the Forty-third Congress, that Melville Stone conceived the idea of a one-cent evening newspaper in Chicago. When he returned to the West his mind was full of it, and with what little money he had he backed William E. Dough-

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erty in the launching of the one-cent Chicago *Herald.* Stone's name was not mentioned in connection with the enterprise—that may be one reason why it was short-lived. Nothing daunted by the fate of his journalistic foster-child, Stone resigned from the *Post and Mail* in the late fall of 1875, and, despite the protests and ridicule of his employers and associates on that paper, on Christmas Day, 1875, put forth an experimental issue of the Chicago *Daily News*—the original one-cent paper of the West—with announcement that on the first day of the new year it would appear regularly. Associated with him in the enterprise were his friends Dougherty of the lamented *Herald* and an Englishman named Percy R. Meggy, who is now a well-known figure in the labor movement in Australia.

* * * *

WITH the founding of the Chicago *Daily News* Melville Stone entered upon the third of the vital stages of his career. During the last quarter-century he has come to be so fully identified in the public mind with The Associated Press that many persons forget his responsibility for one of the most brilliant successes in the history of American journalism. As Victor F. Lawson said in the editorial * in which he bade farewell and godspeed to his comrade, "To have exercised the responsibilities of the editorial conduct of the *Daily News* from its first issue to the present time, and to have seen that responsibility steadily widen in its application until it touches a daily constituency the largest, with a possible single exception, in America, may well fill the measure of one man's ambition, and as well discharge one life's duty."

For in the *Daily News* Mr. Stone established, and largely by his personal force and genius developed, one of the cleanest, most independent, most effective instruments for the public welfare that this country ever

* Reproduced on page 22 of this volume.

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has seen. The impulse which he initiated still goes on. Regardless of what he has since accomplished in his leadership of The Associated Press, the great newspaper of which he was the father would be, as Mr. Lawson said, enough monument to perpetuate and do honor to the ambition and work of any man.

About him he gathered a remarkable staff. It may be doubted whether any other newspaper in America—certainly any west of the Appalachians—has a larger list of notable alumni.

"I think," Mr. Stone himself has said of that unusual group of men and women, "that the staff of the Chicago *Daily News* was one of the most remarkable for brilliancy and efficiency that I ever have known. Among the contributors to the paper were Bill Nye, James Whitcomb Riley, Grace Greenwood, Kate Field; and among those continuously employed were Eugene Field; Gilbert A. Pierce, afterward Governor and United States Senator from North Dakota; Slason Thompson, the well-known playwright; George Ade; John T. McCutcheon; Peter Finley Dunne ('Philosopher Dooley'); John J. Flynn, now the brilliant editorial writer for the *Christian Science Monitor;* Willis Hawkins, Harry B. Smith, the well-known librettist, and others."

The *Daily News* was a success from the word go. It began with a circulation of nine thousand and fairly leaped into public confidence. It was but a short time before Stone and his associates bought in the remains of the *Post and Mail*, including its plant and its franchise in The Associated Press. The *Daily News* had simply crowded its two-cent competitor off the map by sheer superiority in quality and enterprise.

Stone bought out the interest of Dougherty and Meggy, but the job was too big a one for his financial resources to carry. In the newspaper business, especially, it is possible to have more business than you can afford. In their eagerness to produce the best possible newspaper they put out unexpectedly large issues of the paper.

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1888 AGED 40

MELVILLE L.

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1856—AGED 8

1872—AGED 24

1888—AGED 40

1899—AGED 51

MELVILLE E. STONE
(From the family album)

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There was immediate need of larger press facilities, and the fashion in which the *Daily News* set about to cover the news of the world called for very heavy outlay. New capital was absolutely necessary. Then it was that Victor Fremont Lawson was called in as joint owner, and from that time on until their final parting in 1888 Stone and Lawson conducted the business, Stone in sole charge of the editorial department, Lawson supreme in the business office. In 1883 the partnership form of association expired by limitation, and a stock corporation was formed, but Stone and Lawson owned the stock.

Not content with—or, rather, inspired by—the success of the *Daily News* as an evening paper, in 1881 a morning edition was instituted, under the title "Chicago *Morning News*." It was highly successful from the outset, and subsequently, under Mr. Lawson's ownership after the retirement of Mr. Stone, became the Chicago *Record*. It was to the *Morning News* that Eugene Field made his contributions, principally in the form of the "colyum" of "Sharps and Flats," which drew its title from a play by his colleague on the *News*, Slason Thompson.

The case of Field was typical of Stone's relations with his employees then and always. Stone had met Field first in the office of the St. Louis *Dispatch* in the time when, as managing editor of the *Post and Mail*, detailed for service as Washington correspondent, he had gone to St. Louis to consult Stilson Hutchins about the Washington correspondence for the St. Louis *Times* which he had engaged to furnish during the ensuing session of Congress. On the counter of the *Dispatch* business office Stone found seated "a lank and cadaverous figure, smooth of face and bald of pate," telling stories which convulsed every one within earshot. It was Eugene Field, and the grasp of his hand and the cheery friendliness of his greeting made Stone an old friend instanter. The relationship from that moment was lifelong, but it was several years before they began their work together. In the spring of 1883 Stone found Field

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at Denver and engaged him to come to Chicago and join the staff of the *News*. There is an amusing, and at the same time pathetic, letter written from Denver on April 26, 1883, in which Field laid down the principle that he was to have an annual increase of salary:

> I will contract with you for two or three years, to do the work you specify, for $50 per week the first year, and $50.50 per week the second year. . . . The reason I tack on the 50 cents for the second year is to gratify a desire I have to be able to say I am earning a little more money each year. This is a notion I have been able to gratify ever since I began reporting at $10 a week.

"After mature deliberation," says Mr. Stone in recounting the negotiations, "I yielded to this exorbitant demand, and Field came. For some twelve years he contributed the prose and verse which have made him famous. Not only did he write every line that ever appeared in his column of 'Sharps and Flats,' but virtually everything that he wrote after 1883 appeared in that column. His books, which have had so wide a circulation throughout the whole world, and have given the public so much of pleasure and exquisite pain, are chiefly selections from his work for the Chicago *Daily News*."

Characteristic of both men and of the rollicking atmosphere of the office is an incident which took place only a few weeks after Field's arrival. Mr. Stone had made it a practice to give a Thanksgiving turkey to every married man on the staff. Two or three days before Thanksgiving he received a note from Field, saying that he had heard of the custom and thought very well of it, but if it was all the same to the giver he would prefer a suit of clothes. Mr. Stone promptly complied with the suggestion. Major R. W. McClaughry, warden of the Illinois Penitentiary at Joliet, was an old friend of his, and he sent to him for the suit—of prison stripes. On Thanksgiving Day, with appropriate ceremonies, Field's request was satisfied, and that suit was the "property" in many a funny episode in the *News* office thereafter.

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But joyous and happy as was the family, and full of pranks by Field and others as was the life within the office, the *News* was a very serious factor in the life of Chicago and of the Middle West, through which its influence spread rapidly. The standards of the paper, established at the outset, were of the highest; they may well be studied now by editors who devote themselves to the public service. At that time they were all but revolutionary. Perhaps the best statement of them may be found in Mr. Stone's address, April 9, 1912, before the Kansas State Editorial Association.*

"The first rule was that the newspaper should be run distinctly in the interest of the public; the subscriber was to have chief consideration. It was recognized that a newspaper has in its editorial department three offices to perform: first, to print the news; second, to strive to guide public opinion in a proper direction, and, third, to furnish entertainment. . . . There was an unbreakable rule that nothing should appear in the columns of the paper which a young woman could not read aloud in the presence of a mixed company. . . .

"Another rule was that the paper should make every effort to see that its news was truthful and impartial, and if at any time we were led into a misstatement, nothing gave me greater pleasure than to make a fair, frank, and open acknowledgment and apology. . . .

"The third rule divorced the business and editorial departments absolutely. No line of paid reading matter ever appeared in the columns of the paper."

The business office was under rules equally straightforward and conscientious. Advertisers were told the truth about the scope and clientele of the constituency; rates were fixed and absolute—nobody could get an advertising rate not available for any one else under like conditions. The actual paid circulation was printed under oath every day at the head of the editorial page. There was no flamboyant boasting about advertising or

* See "Unto Whomsoever Much Is Given," page 224 in this volume.

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influence. The paper stood on its own feet in the open daylight, and the public could take it or leave it on its merits. They took it. Its business grew, and its influence grew, enormously.

Every good thing in the life of the city found an aggressive supporter in the Chicago *Daily News*. Every bad thing learned to fear and hate it. Its independence and wholesome non-partisanship made its advocacy a mighty bulwark of progress and public welfare; crooked business and crooked politics found it a terrible and unrelenting enemy. Volumes might be written about the service of this newspaper to innumerable forms of battle for clean things; about its merciless and sometimes world-wide pursuit of those who sought profit out of crime and public corruption. Municipal abuse of power was constantly a target for exposure and denunciation. The rounding up and punishment of the "Haymarket Anarchists" was largely due to the relentless efforts of the *Daily News* under Stone's direction. Many were the men who would have escaped the pursuit of the ordinary machinery of the law had it not been for the work of this newspaper, and who found themselves in prison despite the most ingenious plans to elude pursuit.

At the same time that he was unrelenting in pursuit and feared as an enemy, Stone's warmth of heart and democratic sympathy of nature made him quick to forgive. On many occasions the men whom he drove into prison were later pardoned before their terms were out through his intercession because he had become convinced of the sincerity of their repentance and the sufficiency of their punishment.

Now and then out of his past experience came a memory or a skill to stand him in good stead. The *Daily News* was hardly three months old when at midnight one night the boiler in the building blew up. Ex-Manufacturer Stone knew just what to do; almost before morning a portable boiler and engine were installed,

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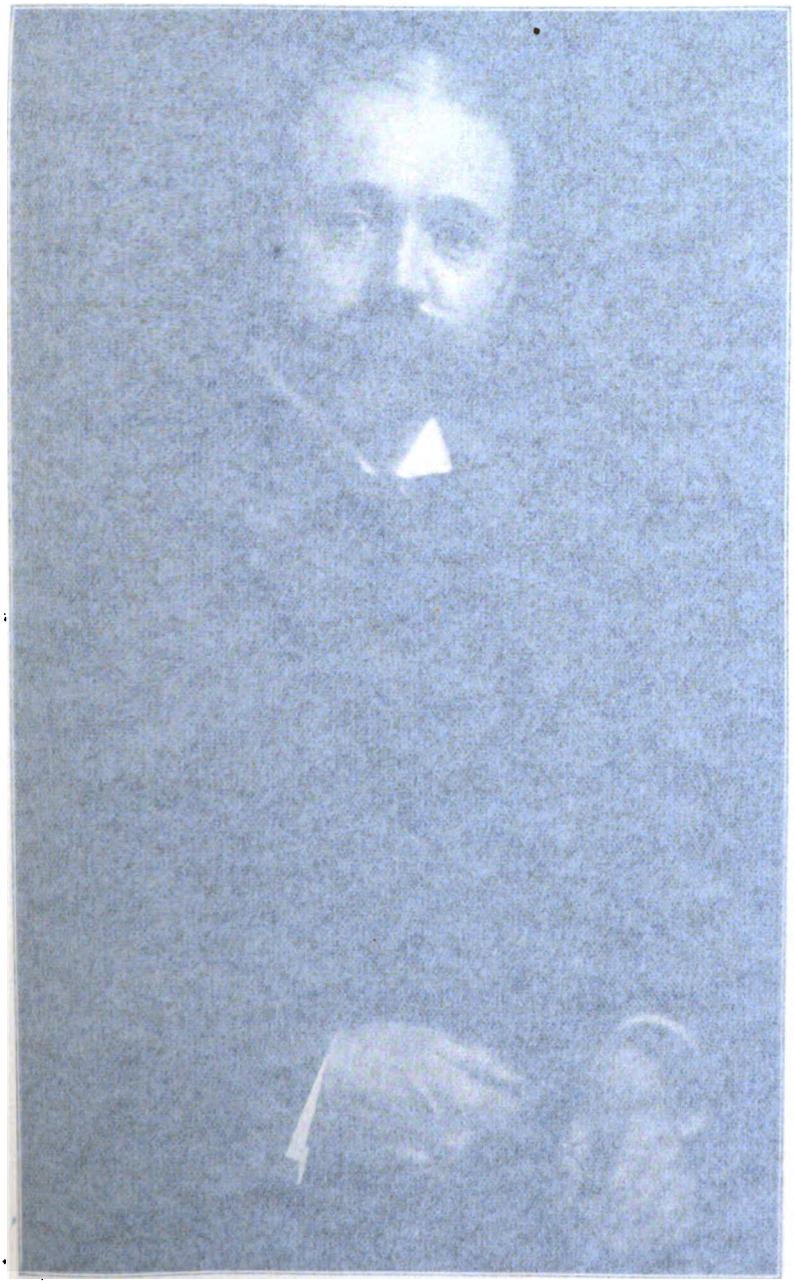

VICTOR F. LAWSON

PRESIDENT [illegible] OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

INCORPORATED IN [illegible]

MELVILLE E. [illegible] FROM FOR [illegible] YEARS [illegible] FARTHER [illegible]

[illegible] DAILY [illegible]

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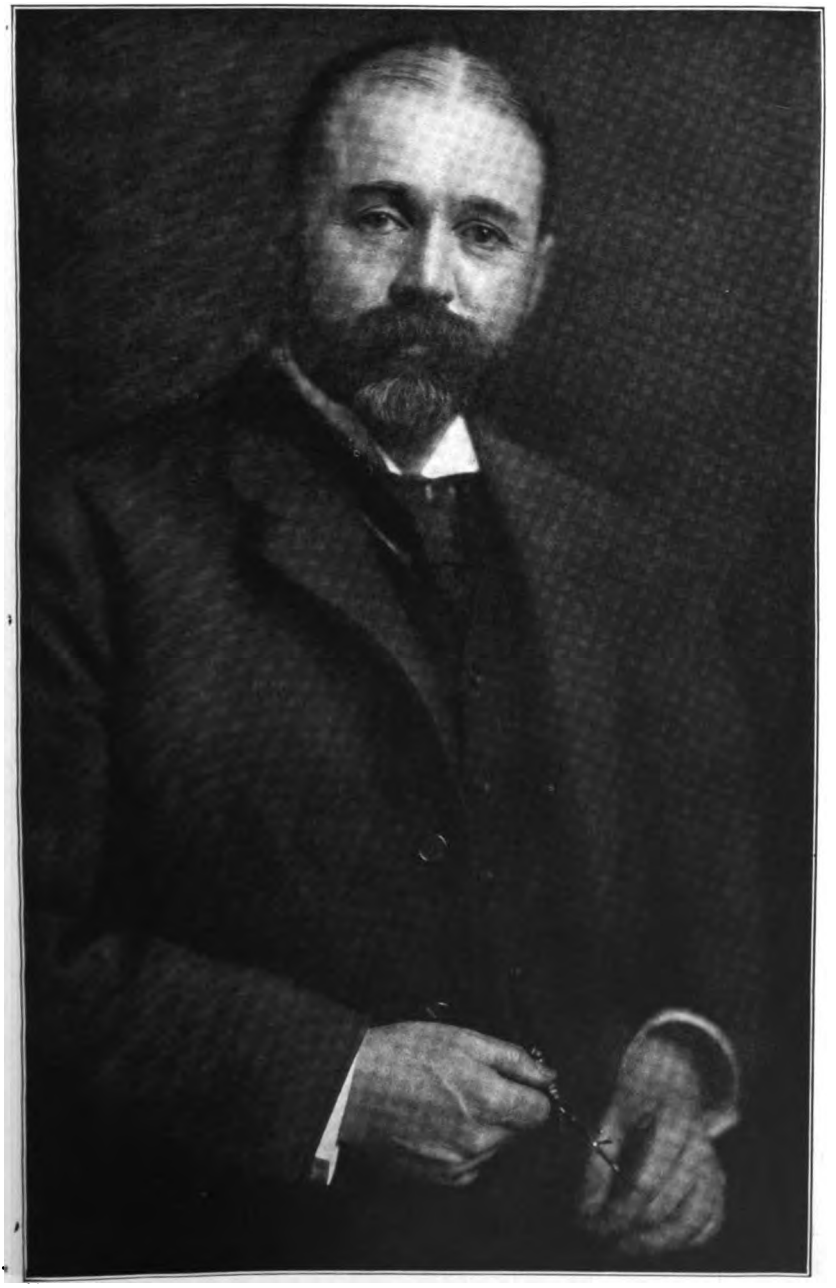

VICTOR F. LAWSON

PRESIDENT, 1894–1900, OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
INCORPORATED IN ILLINOIS

MELVILLE E. STONE'S FRIEND FOR FIFTY YEARS; HIS PARTNER IN THE
"CHICAGO DAILY NEWS"

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and it was not yet noon when the first edition of the *Daily News* was on the street with the first account of the explosion. Many of the enterprising methods of news-getting which are now the commonplace routine of the business were invented in the office of the Chicago *Daily News* under Melville Stone's resourceful command.

In 1879 he was appointed a member of the Chicago Board of Education and served three years. In a score of other ways and on every possible occasion he was active in the public life of the city. The people knew Melville Stone, and counted upon his interest in all that concerned their welfare.

Early in 1888 his health again gave way, and it became evident that no temporary holiday would restore it. The strain of his tireless energy and unremitting labor had made inroads that could not be quickly made good. At the same time he had acquired out of the prosperity of the *Daily News* what seemed a competency; he had no desire to amass great wealth, preferring that his children should make their way by their own efforts. He sold his interest in the paper to Victor Lawson, and went to Europe for some two years.

Nothing could better illustrate the relation between Stone and Lawson than the two editorials published on the 17th of May, 1888, in the *Daily News*, embodying Stone's valedictory and Lawson's salutatory, and the tribute of each to the other. Here they are:

Upon the issuance of this number of the *Daily News* I retire from its editorship and from all participation in its management. I have sold my entire stock interest to my long-time friend and business associate, Mr. Victor F. Lawson, and he now becomes sole proprietor, editor, and publisher.

As it may gratify some measure of curiosity to learn the reason for this step, the following facts are made public:

From the day on which I founded the *Daily News*—in December, 1875—until recently I have been engaged almost without remission

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in the work incident to the editorial service. How arduous such labor is only those who have struggled to found a metropolitan daily newspaper can ever know. Taking the years together, it has impaired my health. A few weeks ago I offered to sell my shares in the paper to Mr. Lawson, and, after reflection, he reluctantly accepted my terms, and the transfer has been effected. I leave the paper in the hands of a gentleman concerning whose good character there can be no question—whose purposes are the very best and whose judgment and ability I esteem most highly. The public may rest assured that under Mr. Lawson's editorial control the earnest endeavor of the *Daily News* will be in the future, as in the past, to make for those things which are true and honest and just and pure. The editorial staff, admittedly without rival in the West for brilliancy or efficiency, will continue unchanged.

And so, not without a goodly share of regret because circumstances thus force me to abandon the one ambition of my life and to sunder a thousand ties which seem well-nigh unbreakable, but with a clear sense of duty to my family and myself, with a sincere acknowledgment of the great debt of gratitude which I owe the people of Chicago and the Northwest for a more than generous support, I bid the readers of the *Daily News* a final farewell.

MELVILLE E. STONE.

CHICAGO, *May 16, 1888.*

Life is measured not so much by years as by achievement. To have exercised the responsibilities of the editorial conduct of the *Daily News* from its first issue to the present time, and to have seen that responsibility steadily widen in its application until it touches a daily constituency the largest, with a possible single exception, in America, may well fill the measure of one man's ambition, and as well discharge one life's duty. In his withdrawal, therefore, from the exacting cares of journalism Mr. Stone only claims his well-earned right to much-needed rest and recovery of health. And yet Mr. Melville E. Stone is too young a man to long face a purposeless future, and that new interests will in proper time engage his efficient abilities may not be doubted; but it may well be doubted whether any most successful future accomplishment on his part can add, except by way of a consistent indorsement, to the reputation of the founder of the *Daily News*.

The confidence which Mr. Stone so generously expresses touching the management which now continues its responsibility, in undivided measure, for the conduct of the *Daily News* shall be at least so far assured as sincerity of purpose and faithfulness in endeavor may contribute. The *Daily News* will continue to be an impartial, independent American newspaper, whose highest ambition shall be to

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give its million-a-week constituency all the news, and to tell the truth about it.

VICTOR F. LAWSON.

CHICAGO, *May 16, 1888.*

* * * *

THEN followed upward of two years' travel with his family in Europe. They made their headquarters on the Savoy shore of Lake Geneva, and the two boys, Herbert Stuart Stone and Melville Edwin Stone—generally known as Melville E. Stone, Jr.—entered a well-known preparatory school at Lancy, near by. From this place as a base they made tours over a territory as far north as the North Cape, as far south as the Cataracts of the Nile, and as far east as Nijni Novgorod in Russia.

In 1890 the underlying energy of Mr. Stone's character would brook suppression no longer; he must get back to America, to work of some kind. Besides, he felt it necessary that his children should be back in the American atmosphere and be fitted for life by an American education. So the family returned to Chicago; Herbert entered Harvard, and Melville, Jr., went to Phillips Andover Academy to complete his preparation for college.

Mr. Stone found it impossible to enjoy life in idleness even among his old friends in Chicago, and he was becoming restless when some of those friends brought about the organization of the Globe National Bank, and without solicitation or effort on his part proposed that he should become president of it. He felt that he had had no experience to fit him for a bank presidency, but at last agreed to take the vice-presidency, if the personnel of the bank were satisfactory, and if some kindly gentleman of high standing would accept the presidency for the time being on the understanding that subsequently, if all went well, they should exchange places. This arrangement was carried out, and forthwith Mr. Stone found himself deeply immersed again in all the activities of Chicago business life.

One of the things that the *Daily News* had advocated during Mr. Stone's editorship was the project of a great

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drainage canal to connect the Chicago and Illinois rivers. At that time, and indeed until the late nineties, the sewage of the great city was run into the little river that forms the "Y" through the heart of Chicago, and flowed thence, a reeking stream of filth, into the clean waters of Lake Michigan, from which, at the same time, the city drew its supply of water for all purposes. The canal project was literally to "make water run uphill," by turning the current of the Chicago River the other way, so that the water should flow *from* Lake Michigan out through the Chicago River, the proposed drainage canal, the Illinois River, and so into the Mississippi. The project was undertaken and was in course of development when Mr. Stone became president of the Globe National Bank. The Board of Trustees having charge of the drainage canal unanimously elected him treasurer, and he accepted on condition that no compensation should be attached to the position. He marketed the bonds and carried on the great financial operation of the enterprise through a period of years entirely as a labor of love, an unpaid public service the magnitude and importance of which to the city of Chicago it would be difficult to exaggerate.

It was during this period that Mr. Stone served as president of the Bankers' Club, of the Citizens' Association, of the Civil Service Reform League, of the famous Fellowship Club of Chicago; as vice-president of the Union League Club (notwithstanding that he had been a "Mugwump" in the campaign of 1884); as a member of the Board of Governors of the Chicago Club; and in various other capacities indicating a high degree both of public spirit and of public confidence.

* * * *

WE COME now to the beginnings of the *fourth* period of Mr. Stone's career, the period of leadership of The Associated Press, extending over twenty-five years of as busy and exacting life as a man can stand up under; the period of service to the whole world.

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MELVILLE E. STONE

Prior to 1892 there had grown up out of the needs and experiences of the important daily newspapers of the country, as Mr. Stone himself has related in articles published elsewhere in this volume,* a sort of loose confederacy, so to speak, of news-gathering associations which had acquired in the public mind the general appellation of "The Associated Press," although it was made up of a number of organizations having differing names: The New York Associated Press, composed of the daily papers of New York City; the New York State Associated Press, composed of the papers of New York State outside of New York City; the Western Associated Press, incorporated in Michigan and operating between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains; the *Call-Union-Bulletin* Association, operating in California but actually closely controlled by the New York Associated Press; the San Francisco *Chronicle* Organization, a rival of the *Call-Union-Bulletin* service and operating under the Western Associated Press; the Philadelphia Associated Press, the Baltimore Associated Press, and the New England Associated Press. Subordinate to the Western Associated Press there were also the Northwestern Associated Press, representing the smaller newspapers in the territory of the Western Associated Press, and the Kansas and Missouri Association bearing a like relation to it. Then, throughout the South and Far West were many individual papers receiving report from the New York Associated Press.

Competing with these organizations there was The United Press, in no sense a progenitor of or related historically to the United Press Associations of the present day. It was a close, proprietary concern, serving clients throughout the country which had been unable or unwilling to connect themselves with any of the groups of the Associated Press. There was a fierce competition and much bitterness of feeling.

*See *Century Magazine* articles on "The Associated Press," page 91, *et seq.*, in this volume.

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In 1892 The United Press succeeded in capturing The New York Associated Press. And since that organization of strong metropolitan papers was virtually the hub of the system, it captured with it most of the tributary organizations and separate newspapers. This threw the practically absolute control of the telegraphic news service of the United States into the hands of three individuals—Mr. William M. Laffan, of New York; Mr. John R. Walsh, of Chicago; and Mr. Walter P. Phillips, the General Manager of the United Press. The menace of this situation was obvious: that the accounts of national and world happenings—indeed the entire telegraphic contents of the great bulk of the newspapers of a great country—should be absolutely under the control of three individuals responsible to nobody but themselves represented a condition intolerable in a free country. Yet it was a very difficult situation. The United Press had in its hands, virtually entire, the great news-gathering organization built up through the years; the duplication of such an organization would be an enormously expensive enterprise. For a considerable time there were attempts to better the condition in a way at least outwardly peaceful. Grievous injustices and impositions were suffered. But in the minds of high-minded, patriotic newspaper owners and editors there abided a sleepless impulse to revolt, and to construct, somehow, a news-gathering organization which should be democratic in control, disinterested in motive, and co-operative in method and management.

The Western Associated Press was too big and too virile to be swallowed, and its spirit was incompatible with the maintenance of any permanent truce with such an institution as The United Press. Moreover, the attitude of the managers of the latter was from the outset intolerably arrogant and domineering. Western men could not sit supine under such conditions. The charter of the Western Associated Press was about to expire; advantage was taken of that technical fact to

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organize in its stead (on Dec. 15, 1892) a new corporation, called "The Associated Press, Incorporated in Illinois." The organizers intended it to be wholly mutual and co-operative, but because there existed no law under which such an organization could be given legal body, it had to be in form a stock corporation. But everything possible was done to make it democratic in control. The stockholders were all newspaper owners; no member could hold more than eight shares of the stock. Stock-holding was not a requirement for membership, but in fact a very large proportion of the members held from one to eight shares of the stock and had a voice in the choice of directors. Nor was the geographical distribution of the stock limited to the Western territory. After eight years of existence, at the final meeting of the stockholders, held in September, 1900, votes were cast representing leading newspapers in Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Washington (D. C.), Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. At first the Board of Directors and executive management were entirely of Middle Western men; but by the third year (ending February 23, 1895) the *personnel* had spread out so that the executive and directorate represented Chicago, New York, Galveston, St. Paul, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Buffalo.

At the same time that in its earlier days The Associated Press, Incorporated in Illinois, was forming to contest the field with The United Press, the stronger papers in the South organized The Southern Associated Press, which for a time sought to maintain peaceful alliance and exchange of news with both The United Press and the new Associated Press of Illinois.

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Now, long before this, in 1883, Melville E. Stone, then representing the Chicago *Daily News*, had been elected a member of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of The Western Associated Press, and he had continued in that connection until 1887, just before he relinquished his interest in the *Daily News* and retired, as he supposed permanently, from the newspaper business. It requires no stretch of imagination, therefore, to appreciate the great interest he must have felt in the storm gathering before his eyes. He understood every aspect and implication of it. In the directorate of The Western Associated Press he had been most active. So far as I can find, for instance, to no other than he is owing the establishment of the first system of leased wires; the idea was his, and the resolution authorizing it, introduced by him, is of record in the proceedings of the Western Association. To-day every news-gathering association has as its practical cornerstone the principle of leased wire circuits. Moreover, Stone is a fighter; there never was a battle waging within his sight or hearing but that he sniffed the air and longed to get into it. But he was banker, busy with the financial doings of Chicago and the business management of the Drainage Canal. Out of the corner of his eye he beheld the impending newspaper war and had his own ideas about it; but he was attending to his own business.

So there is nothing surprising about the fact that within a few weeks of the incorporation of the new organization, or, to be precise, on the 2d of March, 1893, the Board of Directors, meeting in Chicago, upon motion of Mr. James E. Scripps, of the Detroit *Tribune* and *Evening News*, adopted without dissent the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to confer with Mr. Melville E. Stone with reference to his engagement as General Manager of The Associated Press, and if, in their judgment, such engagement be for the true interests of the Association, they

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have authority to consummate the same at a salary not to exceed Twelve Thousand Dollars per annum.

That very evening the proposal was made to Mr. Stone, and on the following day, March 3, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, which consisted of Col. Frederick Driscoll, of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, Charles W. Knapp, of the St. Louis *Republic*, and Victor F. Lawson, of the Chicago *Daily News*, the appointment was formally confirmed. Inasmuch, however, as in the circumstances then existing, The Associated Press could not afford to pay anybody a salary of $12,000 a year, the amount was fixed by Mr. Stone at $10,000; but he served as General Manager without salary for the space of nearly two years, when the arrearage was made up. In the meanwhile, with the full knowledge and consent of the directors of both institutions, he continued to act as President of the Globe National Bank.

His service to The Associated Press began instantly, with an achievement of dramatic aspect and signal importance. On the 6th of March, three days after his appointment, with a leave of absence from the Bank, he was in his "fighting clothes" and on the way to London, to deal to The United Press a body blow, from which, in fact, it never recovered. On March 20, 1893, he completed with Baron de Reuter in London a contract for exchange of news service with Reuter's Telegram Company, the famous news-gathering agency which commanded the strategic center of the European news field. This carried with it similar relations with the Agence Havas of Paris and the Continental Telegraphen Compagnie (the so-called Wolff Agency) of Berlin and all their tributary agencies. The United Press was laboring under the comfortable delusion that it alone had access to the European service of these agencies, and its conduct on the basis of that delusion and of the fact that it controlled the field in the eastern

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part of the United States was of the most insolent and overbearing character.

After a short period of transactions, as it were at the sword's point, definite and deadly war broke out. On the 25th of August the directors of the Associated Press, in a resolution unanimously adopted, recognized the truce between the two associations as at an end. Under date of September 16 General Manager Phillips of The United Press served notice that thereafter his organization would invade the West. Thus began a four years' struggle, the like of which the newspaper world never saw before or since. Quarter was neither asked nor given. The new Associated Press set out to conquer the news field of the world; it refused to make any alliances with the minor groups of American newspapers, and adopted the policy of accepting members representing individual newspapers, co-operating in the exchange of news among them, and conducting its business on a purely mutual basis, and substituting for irresponsible control by and selfish interests of a small coterie the censorship, criticism, and *esprit de corps* of the whole body of the membership.

Day by day, week by week, month by month, the individual newspapers dropped away from The United Press and from the various organizations allied with it and joined The Associated Press. The success of the co-operative principle and the increasing efficiency of the service appealed to their self-interest, and the new spirit appealed to their ethical sense. The process was inexorable and the result a foregone conclusion. At last the number of clients of The United Press became so few and its revenues so depleted that it flickered out of business. On Monday, March 29, 1897, by vote of ten of its thirteen directors, the affairs of The United Press were put into the hands of its auditor, Frank G. Mason, as receiver.

A clipping from the Hartford, Conn., *Evening Post* of April 7 writes "30" to the story as it looked to a local

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paper in New England, a paper which formerly had been a client of the moribund concern:

The Associated Press is now the greatest news-gathering organization in the world. It has won because it deserved to win and has survived because of the superiority of its service and methods.

The United Press is still sending out its service, but by advice of its attorney, who says that the assignee has no right to continue such service beyond a reasonable length of time, the service will be cut off entirely at 2 A.M. to-morrow, April 8.

It is interesting at this distance in time to contrast the spirit of the two associations. In the course of a report made by the directors of The Associated Press to the stockholders under date of May 8, 1898, occurs this statement:

With the failure of The United Press as a news-gathering and distributing agency, on April 8, 1897, came applications for admission to membership in The Associated Press from a very large number of papers. Many difficult problems were presented by the situation. In their solution the Board of Directors was animated by an honest and earnest desire to deal with the members of the failed concern in a spirit of the broadest liberality, qualified only by due regard for the manifest obligations to those who had been loyal, generous, and long-suffering members of The Associated Press during the bitter contention of the preceding four years. The sharp competition between the two rival associations had resulted in heavy losses to both sides. Each of the parties to the contest was carrying a substantial indebtedness. We had been frequently notified by the managers of The United Press that if they should finally triumph, the members of The Associated Press would be taxed to pay all these liabilities, and the conditions of adjustment would be far from agreeable to the unfortunate newspapers which should continue faithful to our Association up to the hour of its final triumph. None of these threats, however, seemed to justify your Board in any departure from its purpose to take into membership every eligible United Press paper and to adjust its assessment upon a reasonable basis, free from any attempt at reprisal or punishment.

In the spirit thus declared The United Press newspapers were in the vast majority of cases admitted to

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membership in The Associated Press. Only in certain instances did contract obligations with members already in the individual local field make it impossible.

The only important news-gathering association left in being after this victory was the Scripps-McRae News Association; it forthwith expanded its scope to some extent to take care of such afternoon papers as were unable or unwilling to get service from The Associated Press; but it was many years before any competitor at all worthy of its steel came forth to do battle with the redoubtable organization which had been built up and had fought its way to victory, under the leadership of Melville E. Stone.

* * * *

UPON what now seemed a clear field The Associated Press set forth to serve its members and through them the people of the Republic. The co-operative principle had won its battle. The newspapers at last owned and controlled their own great news-gathering agency. Just as two or three of them might maintain at one place a correspondent serving them jointly with a common report over one wire leased for the purpose, so a large number of them maintained through this organization a large number of correspondents, serving them jointly with a common report over a system of wires leased for the purpose. No longer were they subservient either to a privately owned news-peddling agency with which their relations were like those with the paper-mills or to a highly centralized concern absolutely dominated by a small group of individuals. The peril of control by any little knot of self-seekers and profit-makers had been obliterated in favor of a vast and sleepless censorship by the members, each with substantially identical rights and interests, and each in his own behalf and in behalf of the public, by himself and by each employee in his office, on tiptoe to detect and denounce any departure from truthfulness and fair

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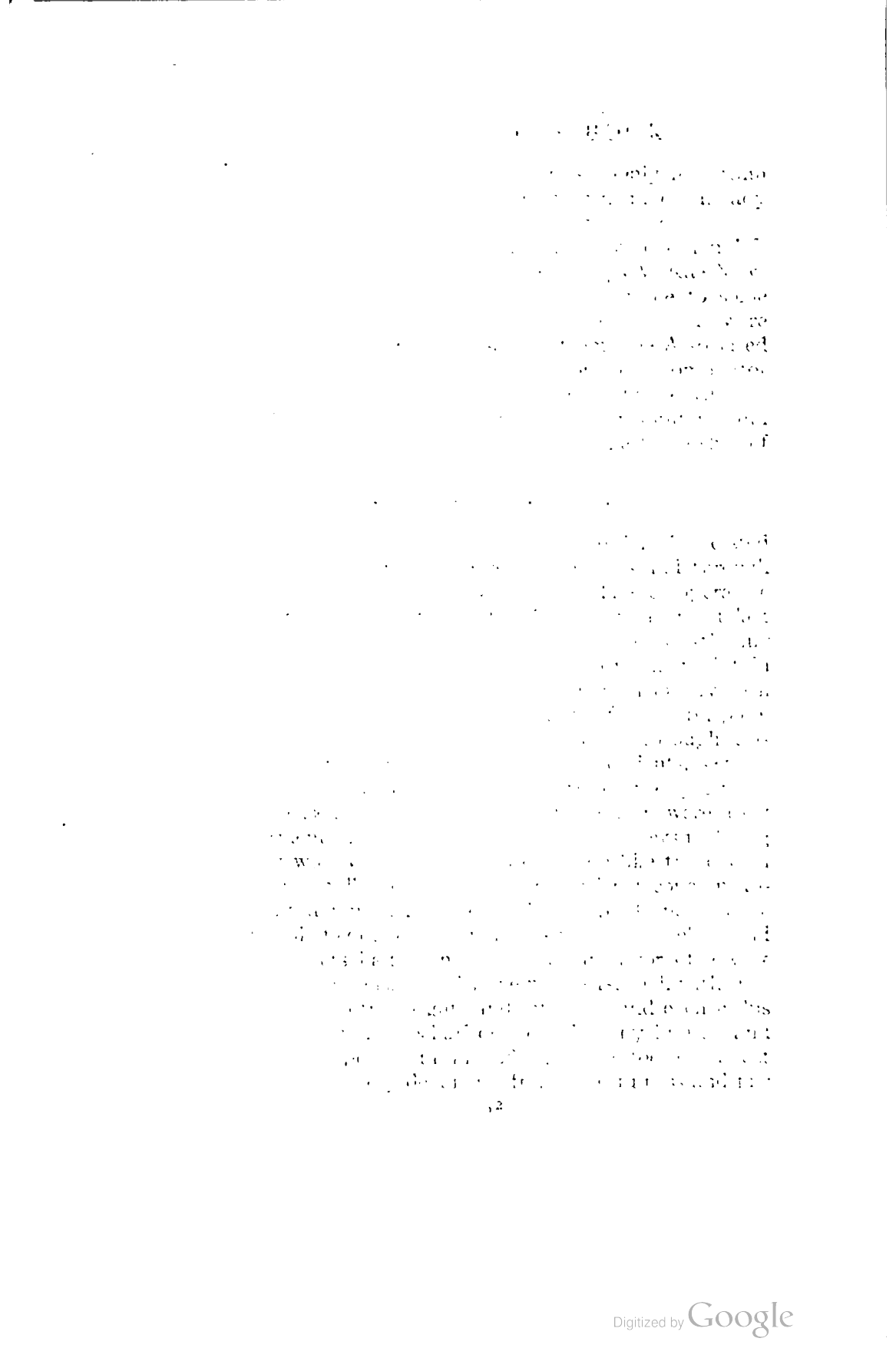

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MELVILLE E. STONE IN 1903

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dealing, any misuse of the service in the interest of any private cause.

Almost immediately, however, attack began from another quarter. The very unanimity of the spirit of the Association, and the efficiency to which it contributed, laid it open to charges of monopoly. There were enmities and bitternesses left over from the great fight with The United Press that bore fruit in a new form of struggle. The warfare of competition in which The Associated Press had been victorious was transmuted into a legal warfare in legislatures and courts. Space is not available here to recite in detail the events of this period. Suffice it to say that in various forms the allegation was made that The Associated Press Incorporated in Illinois was a monopoly, and that its practices in defense of the sanctity of its report and the loyalty of its membership tended to restraint of trade. Statutes were enacted in various States to declare it a public service corporation and to compel it to serve all comers; there were several important litigations involving these and kindred questions. The situation grew more and more tense and threatening. And finally, on February 19, 1900, there fell a blow which at the time seemed fatal. As the event has proved, however, it was one of those misfortunes, seemingly irreparable, which turn out to have been blessings in disguise.

This time the foe was of the household. In enforcement of one of the by-laws of the Association the news service of The Associated Press was suspended to the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (of which, by the way, Melville E. Stone thirty years before had been the first managing editor), for violation of contract in exchanging news service with the New York *Sun*. The *Sun* had been one of the bulwarks of The United Press, and The Associated Press regarded it as antagonistic to its interests; also it maintained a competing news service. The *Inter-Ocean* charged The Associated Press with "wickedly and unlawfully intending to control the business of buying,

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gathering, and accumulating information and news and vending or selling the same, and to create in itself an exclusive monopoly or trust in its business."

In its defense The Associated Press denied that it had any such intentions or desires, setting forth the fact "that there are more than five hundred persons, corporations, and associations in the United States engaged in the business of gathering and furnishing news to the proprietors of newspapers, which have not been declared antagonistic to this defendant under its By-Laws, and that there are more than six agencies in the United States engaged in the business of procuring foreign news and of furnishing the same to the proprietors of other newspapers for publication, which have not been declared antagonistic to this defendant under its By-Laws, and to any or all of which the said complainant has at all times been free to furnish its news, and from whom the said complainant has at all times been at liberty to receive news." It set forth incidentally some of the history of the high-handed methods of The United Press which had compelled The Associated Press to adopt measures of self-protection "in order that it should be rendered impossible for any future antagonist or rival in business to extort unwilling tribute from the patrons of this defendant."

The case was tried in the Circuit Court at Chicago and a decision was rendered on March 4, 1898, in favor of The Associated Press. The decision was affirmed by the Appellate Court for the First District of Illinois and went thence to the Supreme Court of Illinois, where it was reversed and remanded. A bill for an injunction and receiver was then filed, but this case, and an action for damages begun at the same time, were finally adjusted and dismissed.

Now, it is interesting and important to note that the grounds upon which the Supreme Court of Illinois dealt this death-blow to the Illinois corporation of The Associated Press lay in provisions in its charter (adopted,

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by the way, months before Stone had anything to do with the organization) embodying technically exactly the thing which Melville Stone and his colleagues never had done, did not want to do, and had in fact earnestly desired and sought to avoid doing—namely, the erection of a public-service corporation engaged in the "vending or selling of news." Nevertheless, there it stood in black and white in the original certificate of incorporation, and the Court put its finger on it:

> The object for which it is formed is to buy, gather, and accumulate information and news; to vend, supply, distribute, and publish the same; to purchase, erect, lease, operate, and sell telegraph and telephone lines and other means of transmitting news; to publish periodicals; to make and deal in periodicals and other goods, wares, and merchandise.

The Court pointed out that the authority to build and operate telegraph and telephone lines (although The Associated Press never had done or seriously contemplated doing any such thing) conferred upon it the power of eminent domain—*i. e.*, the power to take private property for quasi-public purposes; that its business partook sufficiently of the nature of a public function to render it amenable to public control; in short, that it was substantially a public-service corporation and as such could not circumscribe the news transactions of its membership or refuse its service to any applicant. It mattered not that the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri had rendered a decision to almost exactly opposite effect on substantially the same presentation of facts; The Associated Press was a creature of the law of the State of Illinois, and on that subject the Court had the last word, and that word was law. The Board of Directors proposed to the stockholders changes in the By-Laws to comport with the decision; but it was evident that the corporation could not go on.

On May 17, 1900, Melville Stone resigned as General Manager and Secretary of The Associated Press Incor-

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porated in Illinois; Victor F. Lawson declined re-election as President of the Association. Previous to that William L. McLean of the Philadelphia *Bulletin* and Frank B. Noyes of the Washington *Star* had declined re-election as Directors. The shareholders were unwilling to continue a service in which their interests could not be protected; Mr. Stone himself, on the other hand, as he said, "could not consistently go on in the work of The Associated Press in defiance of the laws of the State of Illinois."

The prospect looked pretty bleak, but Stone and his friends and fellow-warriors decided to try again. They took upon themselves cheerily the task of building a new structure on a more secure foundation. Meanwhile The Associated Press of Illinois went on for several months, with an increasing tangle of interests, as newspapers hitherto unable to gain membership applied for admission and encountered the opposition of local competitors already holding contracts for exclusive service, and the latter, finding the value of their membership injured if not destroyed by the new conditions, balked and protested, but could find no way lawfully to protect themselves. Finally, at a meeting of the shareholders held in Chicago, September 13, 1900, a resolution was adopted, instructing the Board of Directors to take the necessary steps to wind up the service and affairs of the corporation, and December of that year saw the end of its activities.

* * * *

IN THE organization of The Associated Press as it stands to-day the utmost pains were taken to avoid the pitfalls into which its Illinois namesake had fallen. The best legal talent in the country was enlisted in the effort to create a body in which the co-operative spirit and purpose could live. To this end Melville Stone devoted every ounce of his energy and intelligence, and with him worked several of those who, like him, had

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seen the results of their former labors turned to ruin. John P. Wilson, leader of the Chicago bar, Swayne & Swayne, Delancey Nicoll, John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, Stetson, Jennings & Russell, Henry T. Fay, and others, were consulted. Plan after plan was suggested and abandoned. At last it was determined to incorporate under the Membership Corporation Law of New York, under which subsisted clubs and other co-operative and non-profit-making organizations. On May 22, 1900, a certificate of incorporation was filed with the Secretary of State at Albany, signed by Stephen O'Meara of the Boston *Journal*, Adolph S. Ochs of the New York *Times*, St. Clair McKelway of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, William L. McLean of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, Frank B. Noyes of the Washington *Star*, and Alfred H. Belo of the Dallas *News*. There was a world of hard experience imbedded in that document:

> Other owners or representatives of newspapers, from time to time, may be elected to membership . . . *and no person not so elected shall have any right or interest in the corporation or enjoy any of the privileges or benefits thereof.*
>
> The objects and purposes for which the said corporation is formed are to gather, obtain, and procure by its own instrumentalities, by exchange with its members and by other appropriate means, any and all kinds of information and intelligence, telegraphic or otherwise, for the use and benefit of its members and to furnish and supply the same to its members for publication in the newspapers owned or represented by them, under and subject to such regulations, conditions, and limitations as may be prescribed by the By-Laws; and the mutual co-operation, benefit, and protection of its members. . . .
>
> *The corporation is not to make a profit nor to make or declare dividends and is not to engage in the business of selling intelligence, nor traffic in the same.*

No suggestion here of eminent domain, or of the business of buying, vending, or selling news or building and operating telegraph or telephone lines! A group of newspaper men, however small it might be or however large in number it might become, were banded together solely *to serve each other for their common interest.* Their

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agent was to sell nothing to them or anybody else; they were to support it as an integral part of their own normal and legitimate machinery and expense of business. There was to be no stock ownership; it was to be a mutual concern, with mutual rights, duties, and obligations. The only advantages that could accrue to any member over any other lay first in the fact of an initial financial contribution to the launching of the organization. The sum of about $125,000 was loaned to the Association by certain members, upon bonds secured by a first mortgage upon the assets of the Association, the amount of bonds to be held by any one person being limited to $1,000. Under specific provision of New York law, and especially in consideration of a waiver of interest on his bonds, the holder was to have at any election of directors one vote for each $25 of his holdings. It has sometimes been claimed that this gives to the bondholders a dominating influence in such elections. The fact is that upon more than one occasion notice has been taken of this possibility, and it has been found that the same persons would have been elected had the votes upon the bonds been entirely eliminated. The other advantage of some of the older members over the later comers arose out of the granting of what is known as "the right of protest," which conferred upon the holder thereof only the power to prevent the election of a competitor to membership *by the Board of Directors*, requiring that the application must be submitted to the whole Association. In former times there was a power of *absolute veto*. None of these rights has been conferred since the original grants in September, 1900, more than seventeen years ago; many of them have lapsed or been extinguished in one way and another, and inasmuch as it requires under the By-Laws an affirmative vote of seven-eighths of all the members of the Association to grant the "right of protest," and inasmuch also as the sentiment of the membership and the general public temper in these days are increasingly opposed

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to such special advantages, it is exceedingly unlikely that henceforth any new ones will be granted.

In every real sense the conduct of the affairs of The Associated Press has been democratic and co-operative, liberal and brotherly. In competition it has been fair and considerate; it has not sought to injure or obstruct its competitors or any one else in any legitimate effort or enterprise. It has no special privileges; it has asked none. It leases its wires upon the same terms and conditions as those upon which any one else can lease them. Frank B. Noyes, who has been President of The Associated Press since the organization of the present Association in 1900, says on this subject in an article which was printed by order of the United States Senate in May, 1913:*

> Away back in the middle of the last century an alliance, offensive and defensive, existed between the old New York Associated Press, a news-selling organization owned by seven New York papers, and the Western Union Telegraph Company under the terms of which The New York Associated Press dealt solely with the Western Union and the Western Union in turn gave discriminating rates and advantages to The New York Associated Press. Although this arrangement (in the light of to-day a very improper one) was abolished more than thirty years ago, many people think it still exists and occasionally some one arises to fiercely denounce this unholy alliance.

The form of the corporation has withstood all attacks. In various ways its legal integrity and propriety have been challenged; even the Attorney-General of the United States was asked by the publishers of the New York *Sun* to proceed against it as an injurious monopoly. The petition was rejected. Attorney-General Gregory, in his opinion rendered March 12, 1915, remarked that even if the kind of service in which The Associated Press was engaged were assumed to be in the nature of

* "The Associated Press—An article relating to the methods of operation, organization, and collection and distribution of news matter by The Associated Press"; by Frank B. Noyes, President of The Associated Press. Sixty-third Congress, 1st Session; Senate Document No. 27.

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interstate commerce—"a question not free from doubt," he said—he could see no violation of the Anti-Trust Act in a group of newspapers forming an association to collect and distribute news for their common benefit; "provided that no attempt was made to prevent the members from purchasing or otherwise obtaining news from rival agencies." Such an association might perhaps develop into an unlawful monopoly; but the facts adduced by the complainant had not shown that any such thing had happened in the case of The Associated Press. He recommended the abrogation of a By-Law which did reserve to the Board of Directors authority to forbid the purchase of news from other associations—an authority which never had been exercised—and that course has since been taken. Incidentally it may be observed that the New York *Sun* did not at that time apply for membership in The Associated Press, but demanded the sale of news to it—a thing which under its charter the Association had no right to do. Since then, in 1916, by merger with and extinction of the New York *Press*, the *Sun* has acquired membership in the Association.

One of the best proofs that it is not a monopoly lies in the fact of the upgrowth of increasingly vigorous competition. Very soon after the demise of the old United Press there was formed in the eastern territory an organization known as The Publishers' Press, operating in affiliation with the Scripps-McRae service in the West, and, like it, confining itself at first to the afternoon field. In 1901 it began to add morning newspapers to its clientele, and its service was of an efficient and comprehensive character. In the summer of 1906 the Scripps-McRae interests got control of The Publishers' Press, gave it new vigor and widened scope, and a year later launched a new concern, called "The United Press Associations," and composed of The Publishers' Press, The Scripps-McRae News Association, and The Scripps News Association. It is unlike The Associated Press

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in being a stock company organized for profit, and engaged in the sale of news. Its service is to afternoon and Sunday morning papers. It is conducted with much efficiency, and its competition has given The Associated Press on many occasions good reason to "sit up and take notice." There have been also as more or less serious competitors the now defunct Laffan News Bureau, conducted by the New York *Sun* up to the time of its entrance into membership in The Associated Press, and the organization under control of William Randolph Hearst, known as The International News Service (of which more anon).

* * * *

ON THE 19th of September, 1900, the appointment of Melville E. Stone as General Manager of The Associated Press—the New York corporation—was formally confirmed by the Board of Directors. The new organization bought out certain of the assets of the old Illinois corporation and it re-employed virtually all of the men in the old organization. In spite of the tremendous legal upheaval that had taken place and the fact that the new corporation was absolutely distinct and in vital respects different from the old, so far as the newspaper-reading public was concerned the efficient news service developed under Mr. Stone's direction during the preceding seven years had suffered no break. There was actually little loss of momentum. To all intents and purposes his has been an unbroken service since 1893; during that time Melville Stone, in a manner of speaking, has been The Associated Press. On the evening of the 2d of March, 1893, when Colonel Driscoll and Charles W. Knapp called upon him to offer the General Managership of the organization, he laid down to them as conditions prerequisite to his acceptance the principles which have been in force in The Associated Press from that day to this—the principles of co-operative service, mutual interchange and responsibility, free

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criticism and censorship by the members and recognition by them of their ownership of the organization; open and aboveboard proceedings, democratic control and management. But it has been the boast of Melville Stone that he has never taken part or sought to exercise influence in the choice of any member of the Board of Directors. That business has been an absolutely democratic affair of the whole membership.

* * * *

BUT there was another fight to be fought. That battle is on now, and in it every newspaper has an interest. It is the struggle to establish the principle of Property in News. Having established the organization of a co-operative enterprise in which newspapers exchange the fruits of their local efforts and maintain jointly a world-wide service for their common benefit, it has become necessary to protect the results of that service from theft.

In another article in this volume * Judge Peter S. Grosscup states the question involved and tells the story of Melville Stone's part in the battle. The subjects of news are open to all observers. The facts about a happening of public interest cannot be patented or copyrighted; they are open to any inquirer. But shall there be no protection for those who by their own foresight and enterprise and their own expenditure of effort and money have provided for prompt and adequate report of the happening, including, perhaps, enormous cable and telegraph tolls? One may copyright the particular literary form in which the story is told, but is there no protection for the vigilance, labor, and expenditure underlying the story, from those who, though they have had no part in the enterprise, the labor, or the expenditure, would steal and sell the fruits of them? Frequently there is no literary form to speak of; the news item may be stated in three or four words—"The king

* See "Property in News," page 66, *et seq.*

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died at noon," "Harvard wins," "Revolution in Russia," or what not—the copyright process affords no redress for the theft of such as this. Judge Grosscup in 1901 wrote the opinion of the United States District Court of Appeals in the case of *National News Telegraph Co. vs. Western Union Telegraph Co.*, in which, although it was not strictly speaking a newspaper case, this question was directly dealt with. In this instance, information was stolen from a "ticker" and sold at a reduced rate in competition with the Western Union, which had gathered the news for its owns ervice. Judge Grosscup said, among other things:

> We are of the opinion that the printed tape would not be copyrightable. . . . In no accurate view can appellee be said to be Publisher or Author. Its place, in the classification of the law, is that of a carrier of news; the contents of the tape being an implement only, in the hands of such carrier, in its engagement for quick transmission. This is Service, not Authorship. . . . Is service like this to be outlawed? Is the enterprise of the great news agencies, or the independent enterprise of the great newspapers, or of the great telegraph and cable lines, to be denied appeal to the courts, against the inroads of the parasite, for no other reason than that the law, fashioned hitherto to fit the relations of authors and the public, cannot be made to fit the relations of the public and this dissimilar class of servants?

Judge Grosscup answered his question emphatically in the negative, and the Court forbade the stealing.

This matter had for many years been a subject of special concern to Melville Stone. Long before he had devised an ingenious arrangement for the copyright of the special despatches of the *Daily News;* but he was well aware that the copyright law was inadequate to reach cases where only the substantial facts were stolen, the despatch containing them being rewritten into perhaps unrecognizable form. In a letter printed elsewhere* he states his own view of the matter:

* See letter to Hon. F. W. Lehmann, page 73 of this volume.

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We receive an important message at large cost from, say, China, and the instant it is printed in one of our New York papers it is seized and by the rapid processes of telegraphy is sent broadcast over the land by rival associations. As their news thus costs them little, or frequently nothing, they are able to take members from us and serve them *with our own news cheaper than we ourselves can do it*. . . . As a rule our rivals rewrite our telegrams. . . . But . . . I remember a Michigan case where a man made a map of Allegan County. Another man copied it, and Judge Cooley, I think it was, granted an injunction, holding that B might make his own survey of the county and issue a map identical with A's, but that he could not copy A's and enjoy without original labor or enterprise the fruit of A's effort.

This is the question at issue in *Associated Press vs. International News Service*, pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. It was conclusively shown in these proceedings that the International News Service (better known as the Hearst Service) had regularly maintained the practice, amounting to a paid system, not only of appropriating and rewriting despatches appearing in early editions of Associated Press papers and distributing them as its own, but of subsidizing employees of such papers to give its agents access to and to disclose to them in advance of publication matter contained in Associated Press despatches. The United States District Court in the Southern District of New York, by Judge Augustus N. Hand, sustained the complaint of The Associated Press in respect of the practice of suborning any of its agents or those of any of its members, and issued an injunction forbidding it; but declined to forbid by preliminary injunction the taking of news from early editions of Associated Press papers, passing that question on to the Circuit Court of Appeals with the remark that he was personally satisfied that the practice complained of amounted to "unfair trade."

When the case came up on appeal by both parties to the United States Court of Appeals The Associated Press was completely victorious. The Court by injunction forbade all the practices complained of, including that

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of appropriating and purveying, in competition with The Associated Press, news or despatches from either the bulletin-boards or the early editions of papers receiving the report of The Associated Press. The case on appeal of the International News Service to the Supreme Court of the United States has not yet been argued.

* * * *

IN the development and efficiency of the service under the command and guidance of Melville E. Stone there has been no break for a quarter of a century. Those who have followed the story thus far appreciate that, prior to the organization in November, 1892, of "The Associated Press Incorporated in Illinois," the name stood for a loosely affiliated group of organizations scattered all over the country, some of which did not even have in their titles the words "Associated Press" at all. The New York Associated Press, a privately owned concern representing a very few newspapers in New York City, by reason of its strategic position and its relation with the foreign news agencies, dominated the whole telegraphic news service of the country. Therefore the successful installation of The Associated Press as a national organization marked an era of immense importance in the history of American journalism. From the institution of that enterprise Melville Stone has been its guiding spirit, its fighting general. Beginning with his *coup* in London on the 20th of March, 1893, a bare fortnight after his appointment as General Manager, in securing the contracts with Reuter and the affiliated European agencies, he has built up a wonderful foreign service. At the outset it was through these agencies that The Associated Press gathered the news of Europe, collecting at London the budget of despatches for America from Europe and the Orient. But it was soon realized that these concerns did not have the American point of view; that the English and French and German and other foreign news was or might be impressed with

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color to suit national or governmental interests or ideas. So Mr. Stone proceeded to establish the remarkable chain of Associated Press bureaus, manned almost entirely by Americans, at London, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Tokio, Pekin, Mexico City, and Havana; supplemented by a force of scores of individual correspondents at strategic points all over the known world. We have the story vividly in his own words in the *Century* articles, published in 1905, and included in this volume.*

The system operates to-day substantially as it did then. A fair picture of the world's doings in peace and war from day to day is laid before us in the morning and evening papers served by The Associated Press. Even to very small newspapers in the nooks and corners of the country the cream of the great budget of news is sent in so-called "pony" reports condensed even to so small a compass as five hundred words a day, by telegraph or telephone from the various centers of distribution. This great system has been built up on the foundations of the older methods, during twenty-five years of storm and stress, under the personal influence and direction of one of the great organizing geniuses of our time, a true Captain of Industry in the best sense of the term.

* * * *

ELSEWHERE in this volume† the men who perhaps have known Melville Stone the best—Victor F. Lawson, his partner and successor in the ownership of the Chicago *Daily News*, and one-time President of The Associated Press Incorporated in Illinois; and Frank B. Noyes, who has been President of the present Associated Press from its beginning seventeen years ago, pay their tribute to Melville E. Stone, the man. Active as he has been in the stressful life of the world, I am sure that it is as a *friend*, a companion, a royal fellow, that most men think of him who have known him well. In

* Beginning on page 91.

† See pages i, 57, *et seq.*

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the same spirit he thinks of them. The men in "the Service" who have called him "The Old Man" since long before there was a gray hair in his head call him that and always did with a tone of affection that no printed words can convey. On many a battle-field of newspaper competition—political conventions, great accidents and calamities, election nights, those times of Big Stories, when hours are forgotten and sleep and food neglected—the Chief has been on the job with the rest of the workers, reporters, editors, operators; planning just a little, and sometimes a good deal, ahead of the game; ingenious, resourceful, cool, keeping head and temper amid utmost excitement—a true leader. His poise lasted through. And in the intervals "between the innings," or after the strain was off, he was always fellow-worker with the rest, tentmate, so to speak, and chum; never overbearing nor superior in manner; human, approachable, brother-in-arms with every other man on the job, whatever his rank or status. The veterans of the service to him are every one "Tom," or "Charlie," or "Jack," or "Fat," or whatever affectionate nickname the "boys" with whom he works may have given to each. It is a kind of moral promotion that comes to one at the hands of "The Old Man" on that day when suddenly he ceases to be "Smith" and becomes "Billy"!

Melville Stone never has had the "sense of money-making." He was prosperous and successful financially in the conduct of the *Daily News*, but that was because the kind of newspaper that he was bent upon making was the kind of newspaper the people wanted to support. He would have insisted on making that kind of newspaper, because he believed it was the kind of newspaper that ought to be made, even if it had not been profitable. There is a large class of persons who cannot understand how a man, constantly in possession of information of the utmost importance, for advance or exclusive possession of which they themselves would be

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glad to pay handsomely, or which they themselves certainly would peddle surreptitiously for their own profit if they had access to it, could fail to avail himself of such an opportunity. They cannot understand how one in command of an engine of investigation and publicity reaching into every corner of the civilized world could neglect to utilize that power to garner profit in the form of tidings of commercial value for himself and his friends. It is not unnatural, then, that there should be from time to time epidemics of gossip spread sometimes maliciously by liars—especially liars who have found that they cannot use The Associated Press for their own purposes—and sometimes in good faith by well-intending but ill-informed persons, to the effect that the management of The Associated Press is conducting the service corruptly in aid or to the injury of this, that, or the other cause or person. Occasionally, one of the originators or purveyors of this sort of thing, in absence of concrete evidence or allegation, has to content himself with the suggestion that "it is inconceivable that the great business interests would overlook or fail to get control of this mighty engine of publicity."

The thing that these people always have failed to appreciate is the fact that even if the General Manager of The Associated Press were corrupt, and did desire and attempt to use the service for some improper purpose, he couldn't "get away with it." The conduct of the business is as open as Town Meeting. The report is sent over long circuits at either end of which and all along the line sit operators and editors receiving it simultaneously, whose special duty it is to scrutinize it. A piece of "press-agenting" sent by any office along the line is certain to be pounced upon by somebody, if not by everybody. Every move is public before the eyes of a host of trained men highly sophisticated and ultra-suspicious, who often see the grinding of an ax for somebody even when it isn't there, and often "kill" a perfectly innocent news item "just on suspicion." Any-

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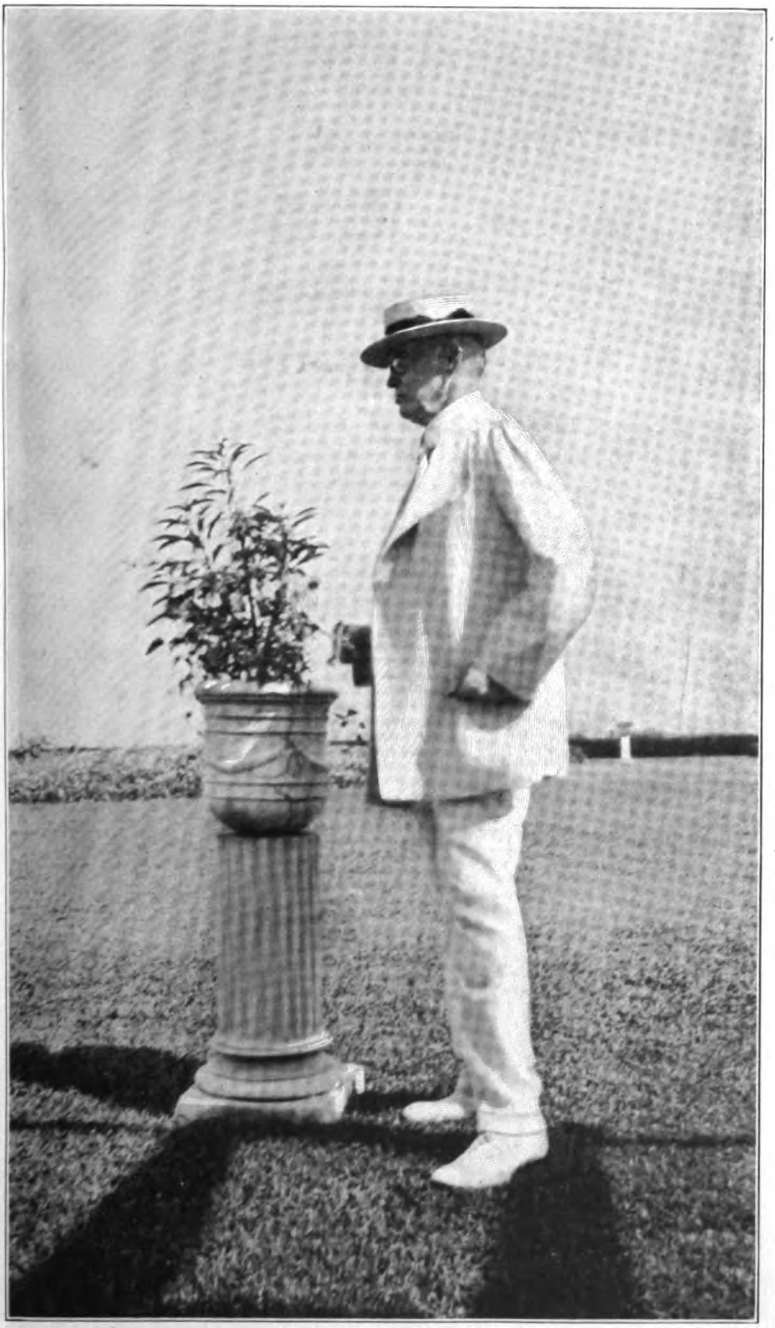

"M. E. S."

(Enlarged from a snapshot taken at Long Branch in the summer of 1917)

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thing in the nature of instructions from headquarters to use or suppress any despatch on any basis other than that of news merits would be received with astonishment and incredulity if not with derision; the scandal could not be kept secret. Besides that, it is of the very essence and genius of the whole institution that every item is subject to the jealous vigilance of the newspaper owners and editors who are the proprietors of The Associated Press. Republicans, Democrats, Catholics, Protestants, Radicals, Conservatives, men who favor Capital and men who favor Labor, men who favor Prohibition and Woman Suffrage and men to whom these things are "fighting words," receive the report and print it in their newspapers. They are on edge at all times to detect the slightest flavor of bias against their side. The spirit of the thing as understood by the rank and file of the service is pretty well expressed in this excerpt from a speech made by an incoming chief of the bureau to the staff of the Washington office:

> If anybody should ever come to you and ask for the publication or the suppression of anything whatever on the ground of some alleged acquaintance or relationship with me, or with Mr. Stone, or with any official or person supposed to be influential in The Associated Press, throw him out of the window, and report the case to the coroner. Handle each matter on the basis of common sense and news merits, and you cannot go far wrong. I have had some important news assignments in my time; I have had charge of the report at several important points; but I have yet to have my first experience of instructions or even intimation from any officer of The Associated Press that I should use or suppress or color any story, in any respect whatever, other than upon the news merits in each case. Those of you who have been any length of time in the service know what a commonplace it is to receive instructions and criticisms of quite the other sort—how earnest and even vituperative is the insistence upon unbiased handling of any matter whatsoever.

The commonest form of accusation comes in time of great partisan excitement, when the Democrats charge The Associated Press with unduly favoring the Republicans, and *vice versa*. More than once the General

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Manager has had the exquisite joy of sending to some Republican editor the letter of a Democrat, and to the Democrat the letter of the Republican, received in the same mail, complaining simultaneously on exactly opposite grounds of the alleged partisan character of the same despatch!

In a speech delivered at Chautauqua * a few years ago Mr. Stone spoke of these matters. He told how, for example, "in the heat of the contest before the meeting of the Baltimore Convention, Speaker Clark accused The Associated Press of bias in favor of Governor Wilson. At the same moment the Wilson people were charging in their literature that the organization leaned toward Clark. Each of the candidates was sure he was 'getting the worst of it.' The facts were made plain to all, and it was quite evident that none had any just cause for grievance; that The Associated Press service, however it differed from the exaggerated claims of the campaign managers, and however unpalatable, therefore, it frequently was, was nevertheless absolutely truthful." And Mr. Stone took pains to add:

"Then Mr. Clark promptly and manfully wrote a letter in which he said: 'I believe I ought to withdraw the charges which I preferred in anger. I have concluded that I had no just cause of complaint.'"

Here are two twenty-year-old letters written to Mr. Stone after the terribly bitter Presidential campaign of 1896. Each is in the personal handwriting of the author:

CANTON, OHIO, *Nov. 5th, 1896.*

MY DEAR SIR,—It gives me pleasure to acknowledge (and I sincerely thank you for) the enterprise displayed by your great Association in reporting and transmitting so fully the news from Canton during the campaign just closed. I desire to thank you especially for the faithful and efficient services of Mr. George B. Frease, whom you detailed to take charge of this arduous and exacting work.

Yours very truly,

W. MCKINLEY.

* "The A. P. and Its Maligners," page 202 in this volume.

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LINCOLN, NEB., *Nov. 6, 1896.*

MY DEAR SIR,—Now that the campaign is over I desire to thank you for the fairness and thoroughness with which you have reported my speeches and also to express my appreciation of the correspondents whom you have detailed to travel with our party.

Yours truly,

W. J. BRYAN.

In this connection it is timely to mention another subject upon which the absolute fairness of The Associated Press has been conspicuous. To do it one must invade a privacy of grief and touch it with tender hand. The two sons, in whose life and success Melville Stone invested all he was and all he had, are gone. The elder, Herbert Stuart Stone, went down with the *Lusitania*. There lies before me a letter from Melville Stone, dated May 11, 1915, written to me in answer to a note of sympathy. We must not miss the light it throws upon his character; at the risk of breaking confidence, I quote:

Noticing the last sentence in the German reply respecting the *Lusitania*, let me say a word to you personally. The last paragraph reads:

"The German Government despite its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of American lives cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust English promises rather than pay attention to warning from the German side."

The answer which seems to me is perfectly clear is the answer I made to my own son the morning the *Lusitania* sailed. The German notices were not warnings—they were threats. They did not warn as to acts of anybody else, but threatened as to some act of their own, and I said to Herbert that, while they might be provoked into such a threat with a view to deterring people from sailing, I was sure, from my acquaintance with the Germans, that they were at least civilized and that no one born of a decent mother would participate in the destruction of the *Lusitania* in the way threatened. It was not that one doubted their warning, but that everybody doubted that a civilized nation, however much they threatened, would carry into execution so horrible an undertaking.

If there is a man in America who would have had excuse to use every means at his command in reprisal

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upon the brutal German autocracy for a deed which struck him personally to his heart of hearts, it is Melville Stone. Who could have blamed him had he instructed his subordinates throughout the service, especially after the declaration of war between his own country and Germany, that they need not be soft-handed or over-scrupulous in dealing with the enemy? But Melville Stone is not that kind of a man. The Associated Press is not that kind of an institution. At a certain meeting of German citizens in Chicago several months after the United States entered the war on its own account, one German speaker bitterly denounced The Associated Press as having distorted the news in favor of the Allies. He had no support in his attack; a German editor rose up in his place and said he would hear no more of such talk. He himself was a German, he said, but he was a member of The Associated Press and as such one of its proprietors, and he wanted to go on record with the fact that at the hands of The Associated Press Germany from the beginning had had a square deal!

* * * *

SUCH a man has made The Associated Press. He has had able assistance, not only from the newspaper owners and editors who surrounded him with their deep conviction as to what the spirit and method of the Association must be, but from the rank and file of the remarkable news-gathering organization that he has brought together. Taking over to a great extent the *personnel* of the force, scattered all over the country, which had served in the older days the various organizations out of which The Associated Press was developed, he has weeded out and filled vacancies and enlarged the scope and latitude of the service. With that enlargement has come a steady gain in the literary quality and human interest of the despatches. Many of them

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are *literature*, in the finest significance of the term. There was a day, long years ago, when the activities of the correspondents and editors of The Associated Press were to a considerable extent confined to the gathering and transmission of material found in proofs obtained from local newspaper offices. Even then there were among them not a few writers of originality, force, and vividness, just as there are now skilled writers who can telegraph their own stories without a "break" over a thousand miles of wire. And every live operator in the service is on tiptoe to see that the news in his territory gets to the wire not only quickly but in good style. Not a few men in the leading ranks of American literature have served their day with The Associated Press. Many of the best known special correspondents of individual newspapers at Washington and elsewhere are graduates of the service. But there remains always the numerous body of high-grade news-writers, content to remain unknown by name to the great newspaper-reading public which reads and trusts their despatches from the far-flung news-front; traveling thousands of miles by land and sea, often in deprivation and danger; doing their work for the love of it with conscience and highest skill; proud of the service and of the man who leads it.

At the center of the system continuously for twenty-five years, with infrequent vacations and trips abroad, has stood the magnetic, inspiring figure of Melville Stone himself, unfailingly resourceful, highly constructive, the embodiment of energy and executive power. Yet nothing could be further from the truth than to represent him as a cold, detached, callous observer of the world's affairs, without sensibilities or compassion engrossed in the machinery of distributing the news of men's activities. True, in such a business one does acquire a certain habit of unexcitement, of ability to remember amid the tensity or the turmoil of thrilling occasions the quiet largeness of human progress, the vast perspective of history, and the immensity of the future. This

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is particularly true of this man. He keeps himself amazingly free of prejudice; he does not stampede to this side or that. His sense of proportion abides. Once on an occasion of great intensity he told an excited young reporter to "hold the story down to a thousand words."

"But it can't be told in a thousand words," cried the youth. "This is about the biggest thing that ever—"

"My son," interposed "The Old Man," with his quizzical smile, "don't you remember that the Official Account of the Creation of the Universe is told in six hundred words?"

It should be added that Stone to this day repeats with keen relish the lad's retort:

"Well, that may be; but it must leave out a lot of the details!"

With all his sanity of poise, all his realization that the Greatest Happening of any day dwindles against the background of history, Stone is intensely interested in what goes on before him. He is a man of deep convictions and is far from regarding himself as detached from the interests of his fellow-men. He thinks of things in world terms, and of The Associated Press as in some sort an international institution; but more than once he has rendered patriotic service to his country in ways that cannot be told now; but they leave no doubt of his sterling American patriotism. He has been close to the inner councils in many great affairs; men of great responsibility and power have sought and yielded to his strong judgment in national emergencies. It is of his nature to desire to be, and of the nature of his task to set him, in the midst of great doings. But The Associated Press is his first and last affection, and its integrity and disinterestedness his chief concern.

The men in the service think of him not so much in his capacity of able executive, taskmaster keeping them at concert pitch of efficiency, as in that of a big-hearted,

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brotherly man whom they want to please because they love him. Not a man of them all but knows he can go to "The Old Man" at any time of personal trouble or perplexity and get quick sympathy and the best that his judgment can offer of counsel or his hand render of service. Not a man but knows that his appeal to the Chief from any substantial injustice will get a fair hearing and redress. Nay, more than that; there have been times not a few when the hand of punishment for serious wrong-doing was withheld because of Melville Stone's incurable habit of seeing in the offender the fellow-man.

"I don't seem to get any joy," he said to me once, "out of seeing my fellow-humans—even pretty wicked ones—in jail."

One touches lightly in a narrative like this upon the subjects nearest the heart of a man; but an understanding of Melville Stone is impossible without remembering that the death of Herbert Stone in the cruel destruction of the *Lusitania* and that of Melville Stone, Jr., in this very year, after a lingering illness of tuberculosis, have bereft a family of its sons. Remains of his children only the daughter, who has given her life to the care of her mother, and for many months past taken on that of her brother, too. Elizabeth Creighton Stone, light of that broken circle, stays at her mother's side, but has found time, too, since the beginning of her country's part in the war, to take full training and gain her certificate as a Red Cross nurse. She serves as a volunteer in the hospital at Pasadena, reincarnating the spirit in which, so many years ago, her father gave himself to the relief of those who suffered in the Great Fire of 1871.

Though the limitations of early poverty denied him extensive formal education, Stone has an astonishing fund of information; his reading has been omnivorous and universal in scope, and to that has been added an intimate and discriminating knowledge of affairs and

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personal acquaintance with men of power and influence in every corner of the earth. He has met as equals the leaders of business and industry, statecraft and labor and education; but he will sit down with the humblest and least learned and give him the best his mind affords. He has "walked with Kings, nor lost the common touch." Struck to the heart by "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," he has stood it man-fashion nor allowed himself to be embittered. He has come through seventy years of more than ordinarily active and eventful life without being hardened of heart or over-wearied; meeting storm and stress, duty and responsibility, disappointment, suffering, and sorrow, with self-reliant composure, manful courage, and cheery spirit. In the last quarter-century of it—allowing all you please for the initiative, the fidelity, and the self-sacrificing labor of the loyal and brotherly band of men who have been his colleagues—to Melville E. Stone more than to any other one man is due the building-up and continuing inspiration of The Associated Press, an institution of the highest usefulness; democratic and co-operative in spirit and method; of incalculable value in the daily life of mankind, not only in America, but throughout the world.

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MELVILLE E. STONE AS I HAVE KNOWN HIM

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

By Frank B. Noyes
President of The Associated Press

TOO often we wait until a man has passed away before we say the things that are always in our hearts concerning him, and so the opportunity of recording, even haltingly, as I must, the regard and deep affection for Melville E. Stone that the long years of close association have brought to me is peculiarly welcome, as the present year of his service to the cause he has labored for finds him serving as greatly as the first.

When, in 1893, Western newspaper men, headed by Victor F. Lawson, resolved to make their fight for a press service that should belong to its newspaper members and be controlled by them and by them alone; that should be co-operative and non-profiting-making, they turned to Melville E. Stone, not then engaged in active newspaper work, and laid on him the heavy burden of leading in this battle for a principle.

In all the world, in my belief, there was no man so fitted for this great duty as the man then selected.

It is not my function to attempt to tell the epic story of the giant conflict between the organization then formed, founded on the belief that the safety of the press and of the people required that the news service of the American newspapers should be controlled by the

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newspapers, and that other organization, then dominant, which had for its purpose only the making of profits. That struggle ended in the complete triumph of the co-operative principle, with The Associated Press admittedly the greatest news gathering and distributing organization in the world. Nor am I to tell of his insistent fight through years for the principle of Property Right in News—for the right of the news-gatherer to the fruit of his labor. The records of these endeavors and many others are written elsewhere in this volume.

My acquaintance with Stone began in 1893, some time before The Associated Press, of which he was General Manager, began actually to function. Early in 1894 I became a director and member of the Executive Committee of the organization, and from that day to this have been in intimate touch with him, either in the Illinois organization or in the present New York organization that was formed later.

First let me speak of his immense services to the newspapers of this country, regardless of whether or not they are represented in the membership of The Associated Press. Melville E. Stone came into the fight for a news service that would be unsubservient to private interests, with a full sympathy for its object and an absolute belief that such a service was vital to an honorable American press.

He was extraordinarily equipped for the part he was to play, both in the war with the opposition and in the constructive work of establishing, maintaining, and constantly developing a great world-wide news service. He was a tactician of the highest order, fertile of resource, ready to meet any emergency, perceiving unerringly the weak spot in the enemy line and deadly in his blows on that line, though in this war the blow took the form of persuasion of the enemy and the victory that of a new recruit to the cause of an unfettered press.

I would not be just to Stone nor to others if I gave the impression that he fought alone. Those of us who

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were comrades in that struggle know and appreciate the mighty part taken by Victor F. Lawson, who staked his all that right as he saw it should triumph. These two men worked untiringly for the great end they sought, backed by the most loyal following that men ever had.

It is one thing, however, to win a fight for a principle and altogether another thing to put that principle into working practice. And this is where Stone's genius came into full play. His range of knowledge; his acquaintance with men of all stations of life and of all countries; his understanding of conditions throughout the world and his ability to call into instant service this knowledge, this acquaintance, and this understanding are simply marvelous. Under his direction the news arms of The Associated Press have year by year reached out until now the whole globe contributes to its daily story of world happenings.

The men engaged in this work throughout the world have become saturated with his high ideals for the service, his determination that it should be truthful, should be impartial, should not be tainted with bias or propaganda.

The Boards of Directors of both the Illinois and the New York organizations have been made up of strong men, but I have never found in all the changing membership anything but steadfast devotion to the highest ideals, and this I attribute to the standards set in the early days by both Stone and Lawson.

I am sure that every man still living who has served on these Boards will bear me out when I assert that every one of us is wiser and more hopeful of human nature by reason of our association with this work and these men and has come to understand the spirit of fairness and unselfishness that has guided the Boards' activities.

I would not be understood as indicating that there have been no differences of opinion—no meeting of the

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Board has ever been held, I think, without such differences—but the differences have been as to what was *the right thing to do* and not such as breed distrust as to motives.

In this respect I can speak with intimate knowledge of Stone's characteristics. For eighteen years I have served as President of the organization formed in 1900, and during those eighteen years Stone has been General Manager and in charge of the news service. During this time we have differed widely on a thousand questions, but always the difference has been one of judgment, never of a nature that left in my mind misgivings as to his intention to do the right thing as he saw the right, and I only hope that he has the same feeling concerning me.

Our working relationship during these years has been a very wonderful thing to me. His patience and tolerance of an abruptly differing view and his unreserved acceptance of a decision by the Board of Directors adverse to his own point of view mark a mind disciplined to an amazing degree, when the masterful nature of the man is considered, and an underlying kindness and charity of spirit that come to few of us.

In his social relationship Stone has great charm. With an enormous fund of information is also a marked ability to give out that information. His wit is very keen and he is one of the best conversationalists and *raconteurs* of our time. While not an orator he is a most interesting speaker and is one of the best after-dinner talkers I have ever heard.

I suppose that every man who amounts to anything has enemies, and he has a select assortment; but it seems to me that more people throughout the world regard Stone as a friend than any one else that I know of.

It seems to be almost a law of nature that with him an acquaintance should be a friend.

As one of those whose relationship is more than that of "acquaintance friend" it is difficult for me to speak.

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During the long years we have worked together there has grown up what has been to me, and I hope and think to him, a very tender and beautiful friendship. We have been together in days of trial and days of triumph, in days of heavy sorrow and those of radiant gladness, and throughout I have found him true. This friendship has been a precious thing in my life.

And this is why I prize this opportunity of placing my little laurel wreath on the living brow of the great man whose monument is The Associated Press of to-day and of having the unwonted pleasure of wearing my heart on my sleeve for the dear friend of so many years.

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A SERVANT OF PRESS AND PUBLIC

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

By Frederic B. Jennings
General Counsel of The Associated Press

Frederic B. Jennings has been General Counsel of The Associated Press since the organization of the New York corporation. His connection has been much more than the perfunctory "business" relation of lawyer and client. He has been of the brotherhood, sympathizing deeply with the spirit and aims of the organization; in its legal battles he has fought with the enthusiasm of deep conviction. And especially in the conduct of the great litigation now in progress to establish the Right of Property in News, he has exhibited a loyalty to the spirit of the battle and a degree of personal self-abnegation, realized only by those who have collaborated with him in the task.

THE completion of a quarter of a century of successful effort is a notable event in the life of any man. When that effort has resulted in such achievements as those accomplished by Melville E. Stone, it is natural that his friends should desire to mark the occasion by some testimonial of their esteem and affection. I consider it a privilege to be permitted to join in that testimonial.

I met Mr. Stone for the first time in April, 1900, when he and certain publishers consulted me in regard to the organization of The Associated Press. The ques-

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tions involved were important, and their determination not free from doubt. The publishers desired to form a co-operative organization, which could be conducted for the mutual benefit and protection of its members, free from obligation to others not admitted to membership.

Mr. Stone was chiefly interested in the adequacy, accuracy, and integrity of the news service, and believed that, in the public interest, a news association should be under co-operative control and not subject to the domination of any one newspaper or group of newspapers.

After careful consideration it was decided to organize an Association under the Membership Corporations Law of New York, and The Associated Press was accordingly incorporated in May, 1900. In its organization and the preparation of the plan for its development Mr. Stone's great experience and thorough knowledge of the news business, his clarity and breadth of vision, his intelligent appreciation of the difficulties to be avoided and of the objects to be realized, his sound judgment, and, above all, the fact that he enjoyed the confidence of the publishers generally, whose enlistment as members was essential, were invaluable, and without his assistance the formation of the Association would have been impossible.

Its successful career, which has continued for seventeen years and abundantly justified its organization, is largely due to the wise and resourceful management of Melville E. Stone. The confidence of its members in the Association, the reliance of the public upon its news, the high morale of its employees, the breadth of its activities, its world-wide arrangements for the collection of news, and its great success, are chiefly the result of his efforts.

One of his notable achievements is the recent adjudication by the courts that a news agency or a newspaper, which, by the expenditure of money and effort, has gathered the news, has *a property right* in it which is not lost by publication and can be protected by injunction.

Mr. Stone for a long time had felt strong conviction

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upon this subject, and when the appropriation of our news by the International News Service during the War became so frequent and extensive as seriously to injure the Association, he urged that a suit be brought to enjoin it. This was done, and, upon a decision rendered by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals sustaining our contentions, an injunction was obtained fully protecting our rights.

Thus, Mr. Stone's opinion, long and earnestly maintained, has become the settled law, and all honest news agencies and newspapers are largely indebted to him for the establishment of this principle, as applicable to news, so vital to the protection of their rights. It may well be doubted whether this decision would thus have been obtained had it not been for his clear and positive views upon the subject and his pertinacity in maintaining them. If his twenty-five years of devoted service to the news profession had produced no other result than this, they would not have been spent in vain. But this has been only an episode in his busy and useful life.

He has built up an organization for the collection and dissemination of the news which, I suppose, has no equal anywhere in the world. He has placed it upon the sure foundation of fairness, accuracy, and reliability, upon which he has always insisted. Thus he has improved not only the quality of the news service, but also the character of the employees who are engaged in it.

He has successfully served for twenty-five years two such critical masters as the Press and the Public, and still retains their confidence and esteem. Perhaps no greater tribute than this could be paid to the impartiality and success of his management.

But this is not all. He has made few, if any, enemies, and his friends are legion. As he looks back upon this period of his life, one of his greatest sources of satisfaction must be that he has gained the confidence and respect of all, and the regard and affection of his many friends.

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FRANK B. NOYES
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS SINCE 1900

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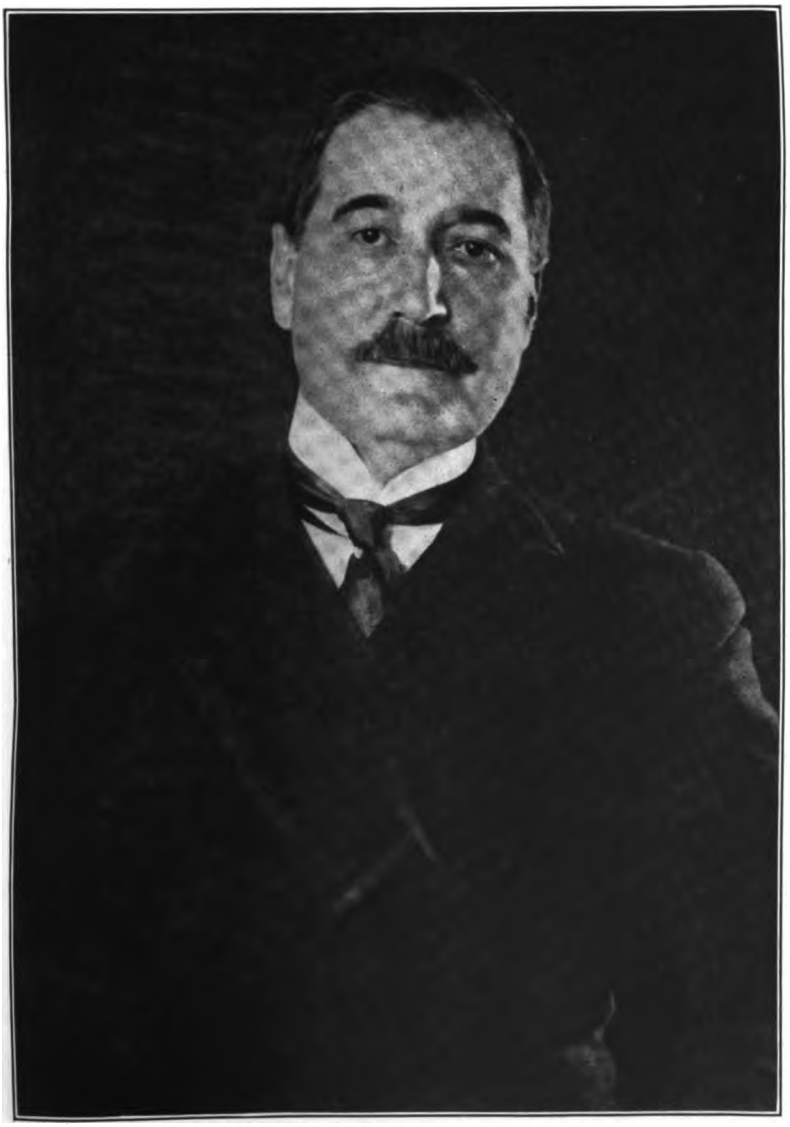

FRANK B. NOYES
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS SINCE 1900

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I have had somewhat close and frequent association with him during the last seventeen years, and my relation with him has been one of the most delightful and cherished experiences of my life. During that time I have come to have the highest opinion of his intellectual ability, and the warmest esteem and affection for him. In my professional experience of more than forty years, I have never had a more considerate, intelligent, helpful, and satisfactory client than he.

His apprehension is so quick and keen, his mind so active and resourceful, his judgment so sane and fair, that it has always been a great advantage and pleasure to work with him.

But, after all, impressed as I have been by his remarkable intellectual powers, I have been quite as much affected by his qualities of heart, his good fellowship, his human sympathy, his sincerity, his kindly consideration for others, his toleration, his great fairness and lack of resentment even under the strongest provocation. These are the qualities which have so endeared him to his friends, all of whom will agree with me when I express the earnest hope that he may continue to serve the Press and all mankind, and to honor and delight us with his friendship, for very many years to come.

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PROPERTY IN NEWS

AN ARTICLE AND A TRIBUTE

By Hon. Peter S. Grosscup
Formerly Presiding Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals

"THE savage," says Gibbon, "who hollows out a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet. The materials were common to all; the new form, the produce of his time and single industry, belongs solely to himself." To the extent to which this illustration goes, it describes accurately the origin of property. But the illustration does not include enough; it does not include the *moral conception* on which the right of property rests; for in the last analysis the canoe, the bow, and the hatchet are only a result—the record carved in matter of the idea, the skill, the labor exerted—just as the musical notes on the composer's page are the outward record only of what has been transpiring in the composer's brain. The moral basis of property is the recognition of this *inner* thing—the inner creative process—that makes it only the just thing to set apart to the individual, as his moral right, the results of that process, whether it be something materially tangible like the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet, or something more or less materially intangible, such as an established service to others, carried on through foresight, skill, labor, and capital directed to a specified end. So much for the natural right and moral concept on which the institution of property is based.

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Their protection and vindication by society through the State is another thing and has another history.

The earliest known attitude of the State toward property, running back to the Babylonian Code, was confined to the bare recognition of the right as an abstract right; and the bare determination, through the courts of the time, where a concrete case of dispute arose, to whom the right belonged. And there the State stopped. It had devised no process to enforce that right even in favor of the one to whom it had adjudged it. Having obtained a bare decree by the State of what belonged to him, the owner was left to enforce it with his own unaided strength and devices as best he could; for beyond providing punishment for theft and like *crimes* against property, the State took no further interest. The owner was left to the remedy of "self-help"—a remedy that put the individual in the same situation that nations even now occupy, in their enforcement of the nations' rights under international law. To sum it up in a sentence: Property rested on the recognition that what one created was rightfully his own—a recognition not merely of might, but of moral and natural right—behind which was put the *criminal* function of the State, but only so far as interference with the individual's right constituted a crime against the State; and behind it also the tribunals of the State, but only to decree what was the abstract right of the disputants. Beyond that the State was non-existent. Instead, in the earlier day, it was to the gods, and later to God, one had to look, aside from his own strength, for means to protect and vindicate his right—a faith in the special interposition of the supernatural, in the perception and protection of individual right, that as late as a few hundred years ago still clung to the remedy of "single combat" as something adequate; not, however, as a trial of physical strength between the disputants, but as a method of appeal to Heaven as the surest arbiter of the rightfulness of the disputants' claims. Not, indeed, until the Roman Em-

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pire was well on its way toward modern jurisprudence was anything like a judicial *process* devised to enforce the courts' decrees; and then only in the most clumsy and ineffectual way. And clumsy and ineffectual as they were, even these processes were almost entirely lost during the period between the Empire and what may be called recent times. In a word, society, as society, has seemed averse to putting itself, and its processes, between the individual and his own working out of his property rights. To make the State even a partially equipped guardian of property rights required the gradual formation and adoption of a wholly new concept respecting the function of the State.

That function was accepted, in its beginning, chiefly in respect to land. The less tangible phases of economic life, such as mere agreements between men, and the services by one to another, were left, even after this, without the aid of the law. Even in England, the foremost country in the world in attaining modern industrial civilization, the question whether an individual should keep his word to another or not was, up to the time of Sir Edward Coke, not a matter between him and the law, but between him and the Church. And when at last the civil courts displaced the ecclesiastical courts in the enforcement of agreements, as agreements, it was brought about under the cover of "fictions" of the law, that, except for what the "fiction" artificially wrought, left the function of the State where it had always been before. So true is this that it can truthfully be said that jurisprudence has always seemed to recoil, and still recoils, from anything like innovation. And when as in the case of agreements, as agreements—the driving power in modern industry—innovation becomes indispensable, the State covers its turn about-face with a mask of schoolmen logic which none can follow, but which every one sees through.

It was to a jurisprudence thus loath to change, or even to enlarge, that the service of gathering and distributing

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the news of the world had to appeal for protection. The man who stood in the forefront of that appeal was Melville E. Stone. He had the requisite qualifications. To bring anything new out of the inertia of the self-satisfied past, especially out of a self-satisfied past such as jurisprudence is that resents change, required more than the mere exercise of intellectual perception. It was not enough that he could perceive that a service such as The Associated Press gave was in itself as much an individual creation as the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet. Others had long perceived that. What was needed was a man who should *feel* the wrong done—a moral twinge similar to physical pain—by the lack of protection; for mere intellectual perception stops when it is balked—it is only the one who keenly *feels* who persists. Mr. Stone both saw and felt. Here was a service, as he saw it, that had its trained brains at every vantage-point in the world—brains trained not only how to find, but how to winnow. Here was a service that converged those gatherings into common centers where they went through the brains of other men trained by experience, and fitted by their wider outlook on the world, to reject the uninstructive or the uninteresting, and to divide even the instructive and interesting into that which was local and that which was general. Here were brains, too, trained to put truth above mere newsiness—so much so that The Associated Press is a recognized balance and mentor against the temptation of special correspondents to make out of an event more than it deserves. And here were contracts under which was secured the use of wires, and working capital, together with arrangements with other agencies throughout the world that made them auxiliaries to The Associated Press. Surely, insisted Mr. Stone, such service, though largely consisting in the organization and co-ordination of trained brain-power, should be put on the level of other created things to which protection is extended.

And Mr. Stone, though not a lawyer, was right.

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Twenty-odd years ago the question in an indirect way came before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago, in a case between the Western Union Telegraph Company serving news over its tickers to its customers, and a parasite organization that, snatching the items from the tickers, offered to re-serve them to its customerss at reduced prices. The case was assigned to me to prepare the opinion, in the course of which the service of The Associated Press came into my mind as a related subject-matter. Meeting Mr. Stone on the train, I started inquiries respecting his company which resulted in a revelation of the nature and extent of its work, of much of which I had been previously uninformed. I recall his interest, his earnestness, that revealed not only perception by the intellect, but the driving power of feeling of which I have spoken. And when the case was decided on principles that have since upheld the right of The Associated Press to protection for its service, I recall his satisfaction and his expression of grim determination to some time bring its principles to the protection of news enterprise.

All great principles are essentially simple. We talk of news as "property." We lay emphasis on the word "property" because of a dogma that has crept into equity jurisprudence that an injunction will only be issued in aid of the rights of property. And in the sense that the quality of property attaches in favor of its creator to every useful thing, tangible and intangible, that has been created for the benefit of men, the service of The Associated Press is property. But the essence of the *right* involved, expressed in language outside the books, is that through the service of The Associated Press, and like associated enterprise, every membership paper puts upon the breakfast table, or the evening library table, of its readers, every day, a drama of the world happenings for the day just past; thus coordinating every quarter of the globe, in its larger affairs, into a single community; and that *without* such service,

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or something taking its place, there would be no human vision or feeling of any consequence that extended beyond the boundary lines of the locality in which one lives. The principle is simple. But it took the right man to press home that principle to a practical fulfilment. The newspaper man bound up with his own particular newspaper would not do it unless in conjunction with others; and action that can proceed only from the joint initial effort of many is apt not to start at all. To do it, it took a man who would not be deterred through the misapplication of other rulings of the courts, employing similar phraseology, such as copyright and its rules respecting "publication." It took a man who would brave, when the right time came, the constitutional inertia of jurisprudence. Above all it took a man not only big enough intellectually to perceive that the principle was right, but big enough in moral stature to feel that a denial of that principle in practice was a wrong, not only to his own company, but to the people at large whom that company, and other like agencies were engaged in serving. To his credit let it be recorded that Mr. Stone was big enough, both intellectually and in moral stature, to fill that requirement. In a very large way he has been a pioneer, not alone in bringing his own calling under the protection of law, but in persuading the law to liberalize its views respecting the nature of human accomplishment that can rightfully claim its concern and protection.

Let me add to this inadequate presentation of what Mr. Stone has done in the way of putting the business of gathering and distributing news under the protection of the law, a note personal to Mr. Stone himself. At the Virginia Hotel in Chicago where we both lived for a while was a room to which the men occasionally repaired after dinner to talk over what happened to be in the limelight for the time being. I had liked Mr. Stone from the beginning of our acquaintance, but I came to like him still more in the growing insight I got of his

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qualities and character in that room. And I believe I know why that liking grew. Besides his wide acquaintance, even then, with the world and the men in the world worth while, which made him an interesting conversationalist; besides what I may call his liberal philosophy of life, in the light of which he saw things with both the breadth of vision and the charity that only the philosopher employs; besides what amounted in him to an instinct of right and wrong—an instinct that felt what was right and what wrong (you see I lay stress on that) as well as intellectually perceived it; besides his gentleness, his innate good breeding, his readiness always to help; besides all these qualities, he had the quality of looking, with those gray eyes of his, every situation, whatever the subject matter, or whomsoever involved, squarely in the face. There was nothing of the shuffler about him. He neither passed on others, nor allowed others to pass on him, counterfeit intellectual coin. And so liking all his qualities, I believe I liked this last one the most.

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PROPERTY IN NEWS

A LETTER FROM MELVILLE E. STONE TO HON. F. W. LEHMANN

THE following letter from the files of The Associated Press, written by Mr. Stone himself, written with no idea of its being published, gives his own general view of the matter, and in some measure the history of the subject. It was written to Hon. F. W. Lehmann, formerly Solicitor-General of the United States, and later active in the litigation on the part of The Associated Press to establish the Right of Property in News. Certain personal allusions, unessential to the subject, are omitted:

April 3, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. LEHMANN:

. . . It gives me great satisfaction to learn that you are considering the subject of copyright. For more than ten years I have had views upon the subject.

Of course you are familiar with the great contest in England, a century and a half ago, between the common-law right of property in literature and the statutory right as expressed in the act of Queen Anne. You know how in the case of Beckett *vs.* Donaldson, on appeal to the Lords, five questions were proposed to the Judges, and how on the fourth question, *viz.*, "Whether the author of any literary composition, or his assigns, had the sole right of printing and publishing the same in perpetuity by the common law," seven Judges decided in the affirmative and four in the negative; while in the fifth question, *viz.*, "Whether this right is any way impeached, restrained, or taken away by the statute of 8 Anne," six decided in the affirmative and five in the negative. A single vote in the bank of Judges settled this great question.

This was bad enough, and, I think, enough of a miscarriage of justice of that day. But, after all, it applied to literature as literature existed in 1774. Since then there has been a complete revolution in

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conditions, and, as Lowell put it, "New occasions teach new duties." Telegraphy, the cable, the wireless, the telephone, and all the appliances for intercommunication provided during the past century, have called into being a new literature and a new industry. We call the "literature" news, and the gathering and the distributing of it constitutes the industry. The old definitions of property—those of Adam Smith and the other economists of the Manchester School—do not apply. Proudhon had a glimmering of the fact. The result of individual effort is property, and the possession of it is capital. The old idea was that property was always corporeal. News is incorporeal, yet none the less property, and, to the owner, capital. Can there be any mistake about this?

You ask if it is practicable to copyright news despatches. Let me tell you the history of the effort to do so. Back about thirty years, when I was editing the Chicago *Daily News*, I cabled my friend, Charles Stewart Parnell, for a cabled message explanatory of the attitude of the Irish Nationalist Party, of which he was chief. He responded, and it was a news despatch of tremendous interest at the time. Ainsworth Spofford was Librarian of Congress. William E. Curtis was my chief Washington correspondent. The law required an applicant to file with the Librarian of Congress the printed title of his "book"—an article being construed to be a "book"—with a fee of one dollar. The matter was finally adjusted by an arrangement with Spofford that I should wire the title of an article to Curtis, he should "print" it on a typewriter, and should put this "printed" title in an envelope with a dollar bill and, in the middle of the night, slip it under the door of Spofford's residence, and this should be held to be a compliance with the law. In this fashion I began the copyrighting of news matter in this country. The practice has gone on ever since. . . .

When I passed over to The Associated Press I made a closer study of the copyright business and, although we occasionally copyrighted our telegrams, I never had any faith in the idea that our statutes really gave us protection from piracy, or that they were intended to do so.

Yet there are equities in the matter which deserve consideration. A single telegram has sometimes cost The Associated Press thousands of dollars. Obviously, in all justice, we were entitled to the fruits of our enterprise. Yet every "book lawyer"—those without imagination, or real insight into the underlying equity—told me that publication of a news message in The Associated Press newspapers dedicated it to the public and thereafter The United Press, or any one else, was free to use it as he liked. I have never agreed with this view. I have held that the printing of Associated Press telegrams in one of our papers was really a limited publication. And

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the doctrine of "limited publication" is familiar to you. You may go to a theater, witness and enjoy a play, but you are not privileged to shorthand and reproduce it.

Well, I cannot escape the view that when you buy a copy of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for one cent, you are entitled to enjoy the reading of it, but are not privileged either in equity or morals to reproduce and sell its contents.

Piracy of this sort has been a serious thing for The Associated Press for years. We are in a large way the only organization in this country gathering the world's news from original sources. We receive an important message at large cost from, say China, and the instant it is printed in one of our New York papers it is seized and by the rapid processes of telegraphy is sent broadcast over the land by rival associations. As their news thus costs them little, or frequently nothing, they are able to take members from us and serve them with our news cheaper than we ourselves can do it. . . .

The Associated Press is the joint reporter for its members. The news it reports belongs to these members. Does their publication of it in their newspapers at a nominal cost for the enjoyment and edification of their subscribers constitute such an abandonment of the matter as to give any one the right to pirate and reprint it? . . .

As a rule our rivals rewrite our telegrams. But I take it as a well-settled principle of law that this does not relieve them from responsibility. I remember a Michigan case where a man made a map of Allegan County. Another man copied it, and Judge Cooley, I think it was, granted an injunction holding that B might make his own survey of the county and issue a map identical with A's, but that he could not copy A's and enjoy without original labor or enterprise the fruit of A's effort. . . .

Sincerely yours,

MELVILLE E. STONE.

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IS THE ASSOCIATED PRESS A TRUST?

By the Hon. Frederick W. Lehmann
Formerly Solicitor-General of the United States

AT THE fifth annual banquet of The Associated Press (Incorporated in Illinois) given at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, on May 18, 1898, Frederick W. Lehmann, of St. Louis, who afterward was Solicitor-General of the United States, delivered an address which showed his complete understanding of and sympathy with the underlying spirit of the organization. It is, in a way, a classic among the literature of the service. Mr. Lehmann at that time had been one of the attorneys for the Association in various litigation; in later times he has served in like capacity, especially in connection with the proceeding brought by the Publisher of the New York *Sun* against The Associated Press (New York Corporation) before the Attorney-General of the United States, and in the case now pending to establish the Right of Property in News. Even so early as the occasion of this speech of twenty years ago Mr. Lehmann saw, and dwelt upon from another point of view, the great principle which he is helping to defend to-day before the highest court of the land.

Mr. Lehmann said:

"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen of The Associated Press: I am very glad to meet with my client, gathered as he is from the Lakes and the Gulf, from the western and the eastern frontiers of the country, in this central city of American civilization, and I am glad to know that he is not only 'Associated' but 'Sociable' as well.

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"When I received the invitation from Mr. Stone to be here I recognized in it an illustration of his habitual foresight and sagacity. An English solicitor having occasion to dine with his client, after the case had been tried, had such recollections of the event that he entered it as the largest item in his bill of costs, 'To dining with you, after verdict of the jury against us, five pounds.' Mr. Stone has taken the precaution to have us dine together before the case is tried, so that there will be no possibility of an adverse fortune interfering with the good cheer of the occasion.

"Is The Associated Press a Trust? [Voices: 'No, No!'] It was suggested to-day that it had some of the characteristics of that institution, and that the representatives of American newspapers when they met together laughed in each other's faces, as did the old Roman augurs in their sacrifices. If after four hundred years of the use of the printer's art there is no higher sincerity and candor in its chief ministers than in the pagan priesthood, it were better that the art had never been discovered.

"What is a trust—not in the technical sense, but in the broad and popular sense of the word? It is an association, combination, arrangement, or understanding between the producers or the dealers in a commodity for the purpose of enhancing its price to the public. The pretext in every instance has been some improvement of internal economy which shall reduce the cost of production, and that being true, it follows that the trust is beneficial at once to its promoters and to the public. And if that were true the public has intelligence enough to perceive it, and they would believe it. But they do not believe it, and for the simple reason that it is not true.

"The trust finds itself relieved from the necessity of improving its internal economies, because it has power over the market; it has control of prices, and thus secures its profits, and does not have occasion to work for the improvements that tend to a reduction of cost.

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And while in many instances reductions in prices have followed the formation of a trust, they have always been in spite of it and never because of it. [Applause.] There never would be any objection on the part of the public to competitors in any line of business engaging with each other in respect of anything in which, though competitors, they have yet a common interest. Suppose the manufacturers of Buffalo united to utilize the water power of Niagara Falls. Nobody would characterize that as a trust. Suppose the merchants of Chicago combined to secure better transportation facilities for the city. Nobody would characterize that as a trust. And this is the test, whether an association between people in the same business is a trust or whether it is a combination for purposes of internal economy—does the association deal exclusively with a matter of common internal interest to them, or does it deal with their relations to the public?

"Now, apply that test to The Associated Press. The business of The Associated Press relates exclusively to a matter of internal economy. It relates to the gathering of news, and it does not relate to the vending of newspapers. There is nothing in the articles of The Associated Press, there is nothing in its tacit understandings, there is nothing consistent with the purposes of its organization which can result in a combination between the newspapers themselves having for its purpose the regulation of the prices at which papers are sold. And the sole object of the Association is to regulate its internal economy in its own interest and equally in the interest of the public. And every newspaper man can honestly and conscientiously defend his scheme of cooperation with his brethren in the news-gathering business. [Applause.] And in this position I am glad to say that I am confirmed by those who are opposing us in the litigation before the court. In Missouri one gentleman is trying, with the help of the courts, to burglarize the institution, to break into it, and while

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he indulges in some epithets he undertakes distinctly to disprove that The Associated Press is a combination of the newspapers; and undertakes to characterize it as a distinct institution, seeking to subserve its own purposes of pecuniary profit without regard to the immediate interests of the individual newspapers that make up its membership. And the dependence in that case for compelling The Associated Press to serve him with its reports, whether it will or no, is rather upon the view that the press is engaged in a service of a public nature.

"There are services which the law from time immemorial has recognized as public, has regulated and has compelled to be at the disposal of whosoever sought them. The most familiar instance is that of the common carrier; and the elaborate provisions of the Interstate Commerce law of the United States, and the equally elaborate provisions of the different State regulations of railroads declare no principle which was not an essential part of the law of the king's highway five hundred years ago, and which did not apply just as much to the commerce that was carried on in cattle carts between the towns of Great Britain then, as it applies to the commerce carried on by the railways of this country to-day. [Applause.] The nature of the function is not determined by the dimensions of the instrumentality by which it is carried on. The little skiff that carried passengers across a stream not fordable is as much a vehicle of commerce, is as much a common carrier as the great Atlantic liner, and is subject to the same law, and is so subject to it because the function that it performs is essentially the same.

"We are the victims of a mistaken terminology. We speak of news as a commodity in the same sense in which we characterize coal as a commodity. But a moment's reflection will show that it is of an essentially different character. What is the report of The Associated Press —that is all that it has to offer to its members; that is all that it could have to offer to any one—is it a com-

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modity? Is it something tangible? The blowing up of the *Maine*—was that news? No; the report of that event was news. The property of The Associated Press was not the event itself, nor even the information of the event, but simply that particular narration of the event which one of its own agents, becoming the possessor of the information, undertook to convey to his employer—that and nothing more. [Applause.]

"You have men upon Cuban soil who venture upon the very verge of the battle, who have ventured within the enemy's lines, who have imperiled their lives, and are to-day possibly subject to be shot as spies if they are captured. What do they bring into the conduct of their business? Courage, enterprise, and intelligence. And these high qualities are their own, and what they achieve through them is their own, and no law consistent with free institutions can compel them to share the fruits of their perilous industry with the coward and the sluggard who lag behind. Can it be possible that while one man is willing to go forward and to venture the perils of a news-gathering service in a time like this, another may sit comfortably in the rear and undertake to determine the value in money of the differential between cowardice and courage, between enterprise and indolence? [Great applause.] Col. Fred Burnaby undertook to report the war in Egypt. He reported it, not from afar, but from a place in the ranks of battle, and he went down in the front rank of battle with the thrust of a savage spear through his throat, regretting, perhaps, that he was not able to report his own death! [Applause.]

"Events occur. They may be within the knowledge of a thousand people. One man may have the quality of mind that enables him to perceive in a given event something of human interest. He is able to give to the report of that event a form—a literary form—which makes it attractive. That report is his property, to dispose of absolutely as he will, and upon whatsoever conditions or limitations he chooses to impose. And

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CHARLES W. KNAPP
PRESIDENT IN 1900 OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
INCORPORATED IN ILLINOIS

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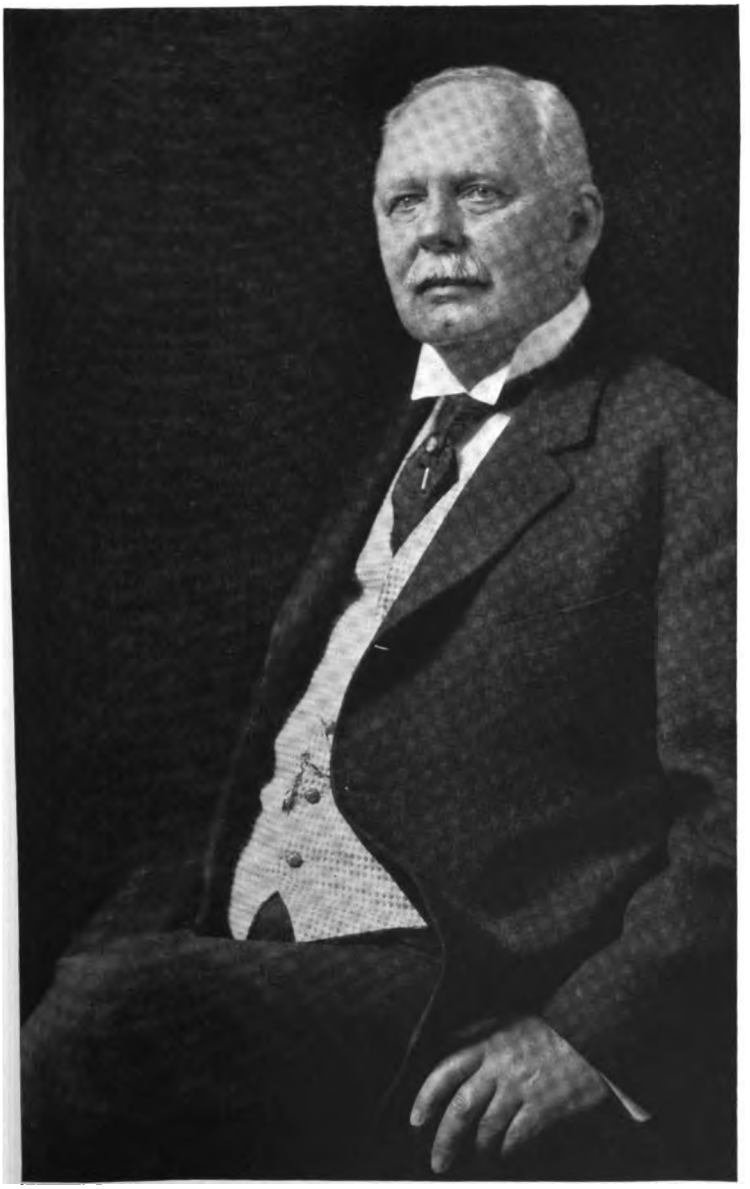

CHARLES W. KNAPP
PRESIDENT IN 1900 OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
INCORPORATED IN ILLINOIS

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there never was an enactment of the United States that put any limitation upon his right thus to dispose of his own personal efforts.

"We have laws that compel services of a certain kind. We have laws that compel railroads to be operated in the interests of the general public. But the mandate of that law lies upon the property, and does not lie upon the individuals engaged in the service. The laws of the United States and of the different States of this Union say that railroad embankments, that railroad ties and rails, that locomotive engines and cars running over those rails are instruments of commerce, and are impressed with a public use. But there never was a statute of the United States or of any State, and there never was a decision of any court, saying that the man who sat in the cab of the engine, the man who operated it, was a bondman of the law, not having the freedom that every citizen of this country had; there never was a law that said that he must operate the railroad whether he chose to do so or not. [Applause.]

"And so it has been with the innkeeper. The obligation of the law rested upon the inn and not upon the landlord. So it was with the mill. The obligation of the law rested upon the mill and not upon the miller. Never, never since the olden days when men were not recognized as free and independent, never since we escaped the influence of the legislation that was suggested by the Black Plague and promoted by it, in accordance with which Parliament undertook to prescribe the hours of labor and of service for the poor—the equality of all men was recognized by the law—has there been any attempt in Anglo-Saxon to constrain or compel the personal services of men not convicted of crime.

"Now, what do your reporters—what do your newsgatherers—carry into their work? No privilege conferred by any law, no franchise granted by any State, no opportunity that is not open to any one of their fellow-

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citizens. Their report is a thing of brain and brawn, and in it is to be found nothing but that labor which responds to the primal law of God—'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread all the days of thy life.' [Applause.]

"The property which you have in your news, for purposes of immediate publication, is simply that property which a man has in his own homestead. Is it exclusive? Yes, so is all ownership. The owner of a horse has a monopoly of his use. That kind of monopoly is of the very essence of property of all kinds, exclusive in the particular thing which has either been produced by the labor of the owner or has been bought by him when produced by the labor of some one else. That property is always defensible.

"You have not only The Associated Press, extending over the United States; you have your limited associations in the cities. If a hundred or more newspapers may not combine in the United States to gather news for themselves, then why may three or four combine in the city of Chicago or the city of St. Louis for the purpose of gathering up more economically certain matters of routine news in those cities? If The Associated Press must give to whomsoever wishes it, then your local association must do the same. And it goes beyond that —the individual reporter, having news, must give it up to whomsoever demands it, because the nature of the function is the same, and you do not alter its character because you multiply the number of reporters. [Great applause.] A hundred black rabbits do not make a black horse. [Laughter.] And that ought not to be limited to news. If the newspaper that sends an expedition into the heart of Africa, if the newspaper that undertakes the exploration of the Arctic regions, must, upon compulsion, give the results of its enterprise and its energy to whomsoever will—then why should not the man who explores his own inner consciousness and discovers ideas of worth and dignity, why should not he

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be compellable to yield that to whomsoever may demand it? Rudyard Kipling produces the 'Recessional.' We may read it and make it our own; it is mine and it is yours so far as it constitutes an addition to intellectual wealth, but if we undertake to make use of it beyond that, if we undertake to make use of it by printing it and selling it when printed, we are simply reaping where we have not sown, and gathering where we have not strewn. [Applause.] The right of The Associated Press to the reports that it has gathered is as high as the right of each of its individual reporters to the fruit of his own labor. It is as high as the right of every author to the productions of his own mind and his own pen; and I do not believe that, however courts may differ, any one of them will ever reach the conclusion that you can be made to serve those whom you choose not to serve; for if that injunction can be laid upon you as a body, it can be laid upon every one of your individual members.

"We have here an Association numbering, if we include all those who by the rules of the Association may be fairly considered its members, something like seven hundred. There are twenty-one hundred daily newspapers in the United States. It perhaps does not become me as a representative of the seven hundred to deny the assertion made by the fourteen hundred that you have a monopoly of the news-gathering enterprise and abilities of this country. [Applause.] But if I were on the other side I would want to find some other ground on which to plant my case. They stand upon precisely that footing. They stand upon the footing that a field of enterprise which is open to every individual in this country, whether he owns a newspaper or does not—a field of enterprise which indeed in the old country is chiefly exploited by a man who has not a newspaper—they stand upon the footing that this field which is open to enterprise, open to courage, open to sagacity, open to industry, is closed to them. Well, the courts will never

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protect the sluggard. [Applause.] Laws are made for the diligent, and you will be protected in the outcome because you are simply asserting the right to the fruits of your own labor. And there is no higher and no profounder principle involved in this controversy than that proclaimed in the days of old, that the laborer is worthy of his hire." [Cheers.]

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ARTICLES AND ADDRESSES

By Melville E. Stone

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ARTICLES AND ADDRESSES BY MELVILLE E. STONE

AS AN interpreter of American journalism, especially in its newsgathering function—as an interpreter of the American newspaper to itself and to its public—Melville E. Stone has occupied a position almost if not quite unique. As General Manager and protagonist of The Associated Press, leading and representing it, he has stood in a way apart from the detail of the daily business of newspaper publishing; able to see the forest rather than the trees; free to upraise and uphold the standards above the heads of the crowd. The temptation and tendency of a man in such a position is to theorize and pontificate, to put forth "counsel of perfection" attainable only in the day of the "far-off, divine event," when the sordid business of competition and profit-making shall have gone into the limbo of forgotten things, and every newspaper, without teaching or urging or wholesome fear of the libel laws, shall exemplify the highest ideals of the profession and spontaneously tell the truth about a world in which the truth is all pleasant to tell and edifying to read. The strength of this man as a teacher of the newspaper profession lies in the fact that what he advocates he himself has done. The ideals that he upholds he has exemplified. He has practised his preaching, and proved it not only practicable but profitable.

In the foregoing pages the story of his activities, largely in the work of actual newspaper making, has been told objectively by others. Lifelong friends have

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set forth their opinion of and affection for a live man who has stood with them in the dust of hard work and sturdy conflict.

A little gamin was asked once for his definition of a Friend.

"I think a Friend is a feller," he said, "what knows all about yer, and likes yer just the same."

Friends of exactly that kind are the men who have told what they think of Melville E. Stone. In every case the acquaintance with him has been a matter of long and trying and eventful years. His partner in "the then little adventure" of the Chicago *Daily News*, and in the embattled days of The Associated Press Incorporated in Illinois as well as in the present corporation, speaks from the point of view of nearly half a century of closest contact. The President of The Associated Press gives his tribute of loyalty and affection after an association of the most intimate kind going back almost to the beginning of the twenty-five years of which this book is a memento. The lawyers who speak of the immensely important litigation in which they have worked with him freely acknowledge that in it he has given them not only leadership and inspiration, but even something of instruction in the law itself; they, too, go over the line of confession into the field of boast, in their pride in a feeling toward this man that is something more than friendship. The writer of the biographical sketch of Stone has served for many years under his command in the ranks of The Associated Press. The tribute of regard and affection is unanimous.

In the ensuing pages Melville Stone speaks for himself. He does more than that. He draws unwittingly an extraordinarily faithful and convincing portrait of himself at his best. The same man who lived up to the high standards of news judgment and editorial responsibility which he set for the Chicago *Daily News* has taken for granted and exemplified their application to the work of The Associated Press. In the addresses

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before the Kansas Editorial Association ("Unto Whomsoever Much Is Given") and the Pulitzer School of Journalism ("The American Newspaper") he has told the story of his own achievement and laid down a chart which every newspaper editor and publisher may study to his uplift and profit. In his five articles from the *Century Magazine* ("The Associated Press") and his Franklin Institute address ("Supplying the World With News") he has with rare vividness and dramatic power described the development of one of the most remarkable and characteristic embodiments of American constructive genius and ethical quality. In his Chautauqua address ("The A. P. and Its Maligners") and his answers to critics of the Association ("Criticisms of The Associated Press") he has displayed his native wit and caustic style and at the same time his patience with well-meaning misinformation. In his historical speeches at Grand Rapids and Charleston, S. C. ("Blazing the Trail" and "The Light That Did Not Fail") and the *Saturday Evening Post* article on the Portsmouth Peace Conference he has exhibited his wide knowledge of the history of his country and the origins of its passion for liberty. In his speech at Brooklyn on "The Russian Revolution" he has given expression in especially timely fashion to something of his own appreciation of and deep-lying sympathy for the aspiration of a great people for freedom and told some things not generally known about the historic friendship between the United States and Russia.

The genius of The Associated Press, and the standpoint from which Melville Stone views the function of the newspapers and the great press association that serves them, are nowhere better exhibited than in the address under the title "The High Court of Public Opinion." * In this address, delivered upon the occasion of the centennial of the establishment of the Detroit *Free Press*, the first newspaper in Michigan, is set forth

* Page 265 in this volume.

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a newspaper man's Profession of Faith, not only as to the ethic and responsibility of his own craft, but as to the relation it bears to human liberty and human government. The power of public opinion, led and expresssed by the responsible newspaper, to compel right action even from those who seem impervious to public opinion, is finely and impressively emphasized in this address by one who has lived his faith.

There are many other articles and addresses which might be added to these, but they cover much the same ground. These are typical of the man, his work and his message. They speak for themselves, and they speak not alone to men of the newspaper profession, but to Americans of this day and the days to come.

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THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

By Melville E. Stone

I

NEWS-GATHERING AS A BUSINESS*

THE business of news-gathering and news-publishing, as we know it, is wholly an American idea, having taken its rise in this country in the early years of the last century. There were coffee-houses in London and New York, where the men had been accustomed to resort to exchange the current gossip, and letters on important topics had occasionally been published; but before this time no systematic effort had been made to keep pace with the world's happenings. Then came the newspaper, supplanting the chap-book, the almanac, and the political pamphlet.

In the new development half a dozen men were notable. Samuel Topliff and Harry Blake were the first newsmongers. Topliff established a "news-room" in Boston, where he sold market reports and shipping intelligence; and Blake was a journalistic Gaffer Hexam, who prowled about Boston Harbor in his rowboat, intercepting incoming European packets, and peddling out as best he could any news that he secured. Both these men displayed zeal and intelligence, and both became famous in their day.

*From *The Century Magazine*, June, 1905. Reprinted here with the courteous permission of The Century Company.

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Later, in 1827, Mr. Arthur Tappan, the merchant-philanthropist and reformer, founded the *Journal of Commerce* in New York to combat the growing influence of the theater, which he regarded as pernicious. But the playhouses proved too strong for him, and within a year he sold the paper to David Hale and Gerard Hallock, two young Boston journalists. They were familiar with the work of Topliff and Blake, and promptly transplanted their methods to New York. They discarded the rowboat, and built a handsome seagoing yacht, which they named the *Journal of Commerce* and ran twenty or thirty miles beyond Sandy Hook to meet incoming vessels. There had previously been a small combination of New York papers to gather ship news; but the building of the *Journal of Commerce* incensed the other members, and they promptly expelled Hale and Hallock, who replied in a card, which was printed in their newspaper on October 9, 1828, as follows:

> Yesterday our new boat, the *Journal of Commerce*, went below for the first time, fully manned and equipped for service. We understand that her rival, the *Thomas H. Smith*, is also in readiness for similar duty. An opportunity is now afforded for an honorable competition. The public will be benefited by such extra exertions to procure marine news, and we trust the only contention between the two boat establishments will be, which can outdo the other in vigilance, perseverance, and success. In one respect, and in one only, we expect to be outdone; and that is, in collecting news on the Sabbath. This we shall not do, and if our Monday papers are, as we trust they will not often be, deficient in giving the latest marine intelligence, we must appeal to the candor and moral principle of our subscribers for a justification.

Hale and Hallock also erected upon the Highlands, near Sandy Hook, a semaphore telegraph, to which their schooner signaled the news, and which in turn transmitted it to Staten Island. Thence the news was carried to the publication office in New York City. In this way they were able to distance all competitors. They also introduced to American journalism the "extra

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edition." The scenes about the office of the *Journal of Commerce* in those days aroused great public interest, and before long the proprietors enjoyed a national reputation.

Not content with distancing their rivals in European news, they also established a pony express from Philadelphia, with eight relays of horses. By this means they were frequently able to publish Southern news twenty-four hours in advance of their competitors. This system worked so successfully that the Federal Government took it over; but Hale and Hallock extended their express to Washington, and thus maintained their supremacy. They frequently published official news from the capital before it had been received by the Government officers in New York. In one instance a Norfolk paper, published two hundred and thirty miles south of Washington, copied the Washington news from the New York *Journal of Commerce*, which it received by sea before it had any direct advices. In time this enthusiasm waned, but with the advent of James Gordon Bennett and the New York *Herald* it revived, and the zeal then displayed has never been surpassed.

The battle royal which was carried on between General James Watson Webb of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, on the one hand, and Bennett of the *Herald*, and Hale and Hallock of the *Journal of Commerce*, on the other, is historic.

When the war with Mexico broke out, Mr. Bennett was able, through his system of pony expresses, to publish accounts of battles even before the Government despatches were received. He also had a carrier-pigeon service between New York and Albany for the annual messages of the Governor, which he printed ahead of every one. The Cunard liners ran between Liverpool and Boston, and Bennett, with characteristic energy, instituted a scheme for hurrying the news by pony express from Boston to New York.

Topliff and Blake had been succeeded by D. H.

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Craig, who established himself as an independent news collector and vender at Boston, and displayed extraordinary alertness. As the Cunard boats approached the harbor, Craig met them and received on his schooner a budget of news from the incoming vessel. Then by carrier-pigeons he communicated a synopsis of the news to his Boston office, frequently releasing the birds forty or fifty miles from port.

Meanwhile Professor Morse was struggling with his invention of the magnetic telegraph. In 1838 he completed his machinery and took it to Washington on the invitation of President Van Buren; but it was not until 1843 that Congress appropriated $30,000 to build an experimental line. It took a year to construct this between Washington and Baltimore, and it was not until the latter part of 1844 that it proved of any service for the transmission of news.

With the advent of the telegraph, Craig determined to make use of this novel agency in his business, but encountered the hostility of those having a monopoly of Morse's patents, who desired to control the news business themselves. There was a sharp contest. The New York papers joined forces with the telegraph people, and in 1848 organized The Associated Press, with Mr. Hallock as President and Dr. Alexander Jones as Manager.

Its membership was limited to the proprietors of the six or seven New York dailies, and its purpose was to gather news for them only. Later, other newspapers in the interior arranged for exchanging news with it, and thus the enterprise developed into one of great importance.

A hundred interesting stories are told of the experiences of Manager Jones. Because of the excessive cost of transmitting messages by the imperfect telegraph lines of that day, he devised a cipher, one word representing a sentence. Thus the word "dead" meant, in the Congressional reports, "After some days' absence from indisposition, reappeared in his seat." When they desired

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to convey this information respecting Senator Davis of Massachusetts, they wired, "John Davis dead." But the word "dead" was not recognized as a cipher by the receiving operator, and all the papers of New York and Boston proceeded to print post-mortem eulogies, much to Davis's amusement.

When the Whig convention of 1848 assembled at Philadelphia, Jones planned to score a great "beat." The wires did not cross the river at Jersey City, and therefore he arranged for a flag signal across the North River. If General Taylor should prove to be successful, a white flag was to be waved. Unfortunately, another company was also signaling by white flags on another subject, and so Jones was misled into announcing Taylor's nomination before it happened.

Jones was a better General Manager than prophet. In the light of to-day, the following declaration, which he published in 1852, is interesting:

> All idea of connecting Europe with America, by lines extending directly across the Atlantic, is utterly impracticable and absurd. It is found on land, when sending messages over a circuit of only four or five hundred miles, necessary to have relays of batteries and magnets to keep up or to renew the current and its action. How is this to be done in the ocean, for a distance of three thousand miles? But by the way of Behring's Strait the whole thing is practicable, and its ultimate accomplishment is only a question of time.

Craig, against whom the efforts of the association were directed, did not, however, surrender. As the Liverpool boats touched at Halifax en route to Boston, to this point he turned his attention. He had a synopsis of European happenings carefully prepared in Liverpool and placed in the purser's hands; and, on the arrival of the vessel at Halifax, the purser sealed this budget in a tin can, which was thrown overboard and picked up by Craig's representative, who hurried it on to Boston and New York by pony express, completely outstripping all rivals. The New York and Boston newspapers then

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chartered a steamer to express news from Halifax to Boston, with the idea of telegraphing it from Boston to New York. But Craig was equal to the emergency. Putting a pair of his best carrier-pigeons in a basket, he traveled by the land route to Halifax in season to take passage on the press express boat for Boston; and when the steamer approached the shores of Massachusetts his pigeons, heavily freighted with the European news, were sent off from a window in his state-room. This was so adroitly done that, long before the express boat landed, Craig's pigeons had reached the city and the news they brought had been published. His opponents then gave up the fight, and elected Craig their General Manager.

For the ensuing forty years they had no rival worthy of note. Hallock retired in 1861 and Craig in 1866. David M. Stone succeeded as President and James W. Simonton as General Manager. In 1882 there came a change.

The Associated Press had grown to be all-powerful in its field, and an offensive and defensive alliance had been formed with the great Reuter News Agency, which had meanwhile grown up in Europe; but the association was owned by seven New York papers, which gathered such news as they desired and sold it to the newspapers of the inland cities. Important subsidiary associations, such as the New England Associated Press and the Western Associated Press, had been organized. They bought the news of the New York association and made payment in money, as well as a contribution of the news of their own localities; but they had no voice in the management. The Western association finally revolted. There was a short-lived contest that ended in a compromise. The West was admitted to a partnership in the direction of the business. Two Western men, Richard Smith of Cincinnati and W. N. Haldeman of Louisville, joined Whitelaw Reid and James Gordon Bennett in an Executive Committee; Charles A. Dana was added as a fifth member and chairman; and William Henry Smith, who had

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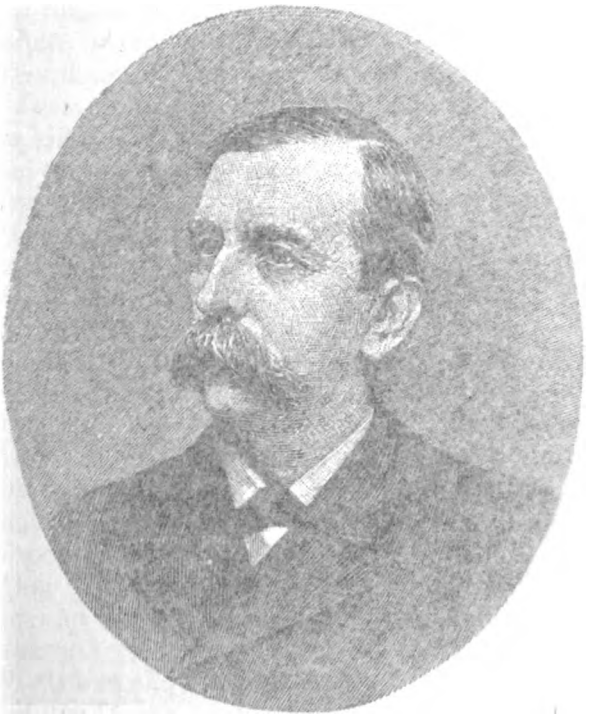

WILLIAM PENN NIXON.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS INCORPORATED IN ILLINOIS, 1892–1894.

(*From a contemporary cut in "Harper's Weekly."*)

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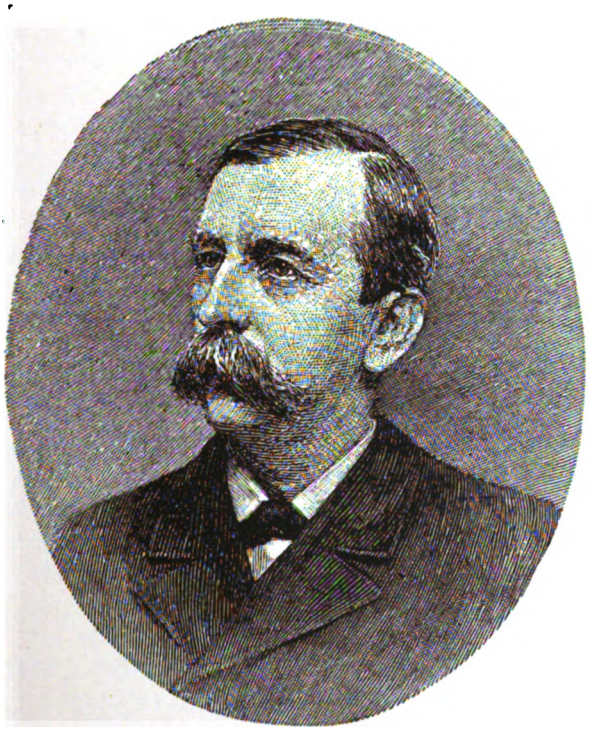

WILLIAM PENN NIXON

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
INCORPORATED IN ILLINOIS, 1892–1893

(*From a contemporary cut in "Harper's Magazine"*)

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served the Western association as manager, was appointed General Manager. The compact ran for a term of ten years.

All this while the association had confined its energies to the gathering and distribution of what is known among newspaper men as "routine news"—shipping, markets, sporting, Congressional reports, and the "bare bones" of a day's happenings. The owners of the great metropolitan dailies who controlled it preferred to hold the management in leash so that they might display enterprise with their special reports of the really interesting events. The smaller papers, which were wholly dependent upon the association for general news, could not afford extensive special telegrams, and therefore desired the organization to make comprehensive reports of everything.

During Mr. Smith's administration substantial improvements were effected. Arrangements were made with the telegraph companies for leased wires, which were operated by the association itself. There was also not a little display of real enterprise. Unfortunately, however, many of the employees were chosen because of their familiarity with the technical side of the telegraph business, and were often incapable of writing the news in interesting fashion. In addition, the organization was loosely planned, or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say, was not planned at all. It had grown up through constant compromises by more or less conflicting interests, and the special concessions which were constantly being made led to a very considerable degree of friction. Many of the papers in the association enjoyed an exclusive right to the service, and it was almost a cardinal principle that no new paper could be admitted to its privileges without the consent of all Associated Press papers in the city of publication. As the country grew, such a plan made a rival organization inevitable. There was a close alliance, offensive and defensive, between The Associated Press and the Western Union Telegraph

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Company, by the terms of which the association was given special advantages, and it in turn refused to patronize any rival telegraph company.

From time to time enterprising men founded new papers which, under the rules, could not gain admission to The Associated Press. Rival telegraph companies also appeared in the field and established rival news services. Owing to the great strength of The Associated Press, these rival concerns struggled against heavy odds, but constantly grew in importance, until finally there were enough papers which had been unable to secure admittance to the association and enough telegraph companies contesting the field with the Western Union Company to organize a formidable competitor—The United Press. Behind it the two most important papers were the Boston *Daily Globe* and the Chicago *Daily Herald*, both of which were enterprising and financially strong. In London, also, there was established a rival to Reuter, called the Central News Agency, not very formidable, to be sure, yet sufficiently enterprising to furnish a fair summary of the world's news. It had a distinct advantage in the fact that the five hours' difference in time between London and New York enabled it to glean from the London morning papers the most important happenings in time to transmit them to America for publication in contemporaneous issues.

It was one of the rules of The Associated Press—both of the parent organization and of all the tributary associations—that a member should not traffic with any rival association; but the rules were so loosely drawn and so ineffectively enforced that The United Press was able to sell its report to a large number of papers. In many cases members of The Associated Press bought the United Press report, paying a considerable weekly sum for it, simply in order to prevent its use by a rival newspaper. All of this gave The United Press a considerable revenue and an important standing. Finally it menaced the supremacy of the older organization.

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Then an unfortunate compromise was effected. Those in the management of The Associated Press privately purchased a controlling interest in the stock of The United Press, and made a secret agreement that the two associations should work in harmony. The existence of this private arrangement was disclosed in 1892, as the ten-year alliance between the New York Associated Press and the Western Associated Press was about to terminate. It created great commotion. The Western Associated Press refused to go on under such an agreement. Finally the New York Associated Press was absorbed by The United Press, and the Western Associated Press set out to operate independently. At that moment I was invited to become General Manager of the Western association. I had been a member of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of that organization during the years that I had edited the Chicago *Daily News*, and I was reasonably familiar with the business.

A struggle for supremacy between the two agencies opened at once. The United Press had the support of all the newspapers east of the Alleghany Mountains, and the Western Associated Press had only a majority of those in the West, while the papers of the South at first endeavored to maintain friendly relations with both, but later fell into the arms of The United Press. In point of membership, as well as in financial strength, the Western organization seemed to be no match for its Eastern rival, but it had one important advantage. In its plan of organization it was a democracy, and its management was subject to the control of its entire membership. The United Press, on the other hand, was a close corporation, in the hands of a few men, and the large majority of the papers receiving its report were merely clients having no vote in the management.

The contest lasted for four years, and was waged with great bitterness. Early in its progress I went to Europe and arranged an alliance with Reuter. This was a blow from which The United Press never recovered.

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Mr. Victor F. Lawson, my former partner in the ownership of the Chicago *Daily News*, was elected President and devoted himself with great persistency and disinterestedness to the upbuilding of the organization. He and I set out for New York, where we began a prolonged missionary effort. It happened that Mr. Horace White of the New York *Evening Post*, Mr. Joseph Pulitzer of the New York *World*, and Mr. John Cockerill of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, were all Western men who had been long-time friends of mine, and it was not difficult to convince them of the wisdom of our plan of organization.

When I called upon Mr. White I found him busily writing an editorial. Scarcely pausing in his work, he said: "I am with you. I do not believe in an association which is controlled by three or four men. The *Evening Post* will join your company. But I am under pledge to make no move in the matter without consulting my friends of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* and the Brooklyn *Eagle*." Very soon the *Evening Post*, the *Staats-Zeitung*, the *World*, the *Morning Advertiser*, and the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York, as well as the Brooklyn *Eagle*, abandoned The United Press and joined the Western organization. A special meeting was called in Chicago, and The Associated Press was reorganized as a *national* institution. The fact that it retained the name—"The Associated Press"—which for over forty years had been a household word in the United States was of great value, editors, as a rule, recognizing the desirability of advertising (as they had done for many years) their connection with The Associated Press rather than their alliance with The United Press. The title "The Associated Press" was a most valuable trade-mark.

In time the Philadelphia papers, certain New England papers, and a number of journals in Central New York, also abandoned The United Press and joined The Associated Press. The contest resulted in placing a heavy

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burden of expense upon both organizations. The normal revenues of neither were sufficient to maintain its service at the standard of excellence required by the competition. The members of The Associated Press promptly assembled and subscribed to a large guaranty fund to provide for the deficits, while the four or five New York papers behind The United Press were compelled to contribute in like manner in order to hold their clients to any degree of allegiance. Month by month and year by year the converts to The Associated Press grew in number and the burden of expense upon the New York papers became heavier. At length the Boston *Herald* joined The Associated Press, and the collapse of The United Press followed. On April 8, 1897, Mr. Dana, who was then its President, made, in its behalf, a voluntary assignment, and on that day two or three hundred of its members were admitted to The Associated Press.

A small number of papers still found it impossible to join, and were compelled to form another association, which has now grown into The Publishers' Press* organization, serving a large number of papers, chiefly afternoon issues, with a creditable report. Two years later there was a clash with a member of The Associated Press in Chicago, litigation ensued, and the Supreme Court of Illinois rendered a decision adverse to the Association. In order to safeguard their interests, and because experience had shown defects in the plan of organization, a number of the leading members formed a new association, and incorporated it under the law of the State of New York. Substantially all of the members withdrew from the existing organization and joined the new corporation. There was no legal connection between the two, although the one which ceased to exist and the one which came into existence at the same mo-

*It should be remembered that this article was written in 1905. The Publishers' Press of that day was subsequently merged in the present United Press Associations.

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ment were both called The Associated Press and the membership was virtually identical.

It is this New York corporation which for the last five years has been known as The Associated Press. As its name indicates, it is an organization of newspapers for the purpose of gathering news on joint account. It is purely mutual in its character, and in this respect is unique. All of the other news-supplying agencies of the world are proprietary concerns. It issues no stock, makes no profit, and declares no dividends. It does not sell news to any one. It is a clearing-house for the interchange of news among its members only. Its membership consists of seven hundred daily newspapers published in the United States, each of which contributes to the common budget all news of national interest originating in its vicinity, pays a weekly assessment representing its share of the general expense of conducting the business, and has its vote in the election of the management. The annual budget is divided thus:* Salaries—executive, editors, correspondents, operators, messengers, etc., $1,031,000; leased wires and telegraph tolls on outgoing matter, $704,000; tolls on incoming matter, specials, etc., $152,000; foreign cables, $182,000; contracts with foreign agencies, $15,000; general expenses, including rents, telephones, typewriters, legal expenses, etc., $174,000; total, $2,258,000.

To meet this, each member is assessed a sum which is paid weekly in advance. In making up these assessments, an equitable system is followed, which provides that the heaviest tax shall fall upon the larger papers.

The Association is several times greater in magnitude and in the importance of its work than any other institution for distributing news. It serves, for instance,

* These are the figures for the year 1904. For the year ending December 31, 1917, the grand total of expense of The Associated Press was $3,396,796.50. The principal items were: Salaries, $1,720,644; rental of leased wires and tolls on outgoing report, $766,690; incoming news (domestic), $128,950; foreign service, $564,928; general expenses, $173,882.

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all but six of the morning daily newspapers of the country which take telegraphic service. It furnishes more than one-half of all the news the papers print, and its despatches appear in journals having an aggregate issue of over fifteen and one-half million copies a day. If the recognized formula of three readers for each copy be accepted, it is evident that its telegrams are read by more than one-half the people of the nation. How wide is the influence exerted by this service in a land where readers demand the facts only and form their own judgment, no one may estimate. The Association certainly plays a most important part in our national life. Yet, if one may judge from inquiries that come to the General Office, it is little understood either by editors or readers.

Annually the members gather in general convention in New York and elect a Board of Directors of fifteen members. By common consent, the members of this board are chosen from different parts of the country, so that each important division is represented. They are trained newspaper men who bring to the discharge of their duties an intimate knowledge of the business and a high sense of responsibility. The Board of Directors in turn elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and General Manager, an Assistant Secretary and Assistant General Manager, and a Treasurer, and designate from their own number five members to serve as an Executive Committee.

The world at large is divided, for the purpose of news-gathering, among four great agencies. The Reuter Telegram Company, Ltd., of London, gathers and distributes news in Great Britain and all her colonies, China, Japan, and Egypt. The Continental Telegraphen Compagnie of Berlin, popularly known as the Wolff Agency, performs a like office in the Teutonic, Slav, and Scandinavian countries; and the Agence Havas of Paris operates in the Latin nations. The field of The Associated Press includes the United States, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, and Central America, as well as the islands

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of the Caribbean Sea. Each of these agencies has a representative in the offices of the others. Thus the Associated Press bureau in London adjoins the Reuter offices. The telegrams to the Reuter company are written on manifold sheets by the telegraph and cable companies, and copies are served simultaneously to The Associated Press bureau, the Wolff representative, the Havas men, and the Reuter people. A like arrangement obtains in Paris, Berlin, and New York, so that in each of these cities the whole panorama of the day's happenings passes under the eyes of representatives of each of the four agencies.

But the scheme is much more elaborate than even this arrangement would indicate. Operating as tributary to the great agencies are a host of minor agencies —virtually one such smaller agency for each of the nations of importance. Thus in Italy the Stefani Agency, with headquarters in Rome, gathers and distributes the news of Italy. It is the official agency, and to it the authorities give exclusively all governmental information. It is controlled by Italians, but a large minority of its shares are owned by the Agence Havas of Paris, and it operates in close alliance with the latter organization.

Thus, if a fire should break out in Milan, the *Secolo*, the leading newspaper of that city, would instantly telegraph a report of it to the Stefani Agency at Rome. Thence it would be telegraphed to all of the other Italian papers, and copies of the *Secolo's* message would also be handed to the representatives, in the Stefani headquarters, of the Reuter, Wolff, Havas, and the Associated Press agencies.

In like fashion, if the fire should happen in Chicago, The Associated Press would receive its report, transmit it to the American papers, and furnish copies to the representatives of the foreign agencies stationed in the New York office of The Associated Press.

Of the minor agencies the most important are the

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Fabri Agency of Madrid, the Norsky Agency of Christiania, the Swiss Agency of Bern, the Svensky Agency of Stockholm, the Correspondenz Büreau of Vienna, the Commercial Agency of St. Petersburg, and the Agence Balcanique of Sofia.

But The Associated Press is not content to depend wholly upon these official agencies. It maintains its own bureaus in all the important capitals, and reports the more prominent events by its own men, who are Americans and familiar with American newspaper methods. These foreign representatives are drawn from the ablest men in the service, and the offices they fill are obviously of great responsibility. They must be qualified by long training in the journalistic profession, by familiarity with a number of languages, and by a presence and a bearing which will enable them to mingle with men of the highest station in the countries to which they are accredited.

Such are the means used for gathering foreign news. For the exchange of domestic news the methods are not very different. Each of the seven hundred newspapers whose proprietors are members of the Association is obliged to give the representative of The Associated Press free access to its news as soon as received. Many times a day the Associated Press man calls at every newspaper office in the large cities and is given the latest local news. If it is sufficiently important, he instantly puts it upon the leased wires, and in a few seconds it is in the hands of hundreds of telegraph editors throughout the country.

For the purpose of administration the country is divided into four grand divisions, each controlled by a Superintendent acting under the direction of the General Manager. The Association leases thirty-five thousand miles of telegraph wire, and expends over seven thousand dollars a day in its work. These leased wires, which are worked by its own operators, stretch from Halifax, by way of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore,

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Washington, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, and Salt Lake, to San Francisco, San Diego, and Seattle; they radiate from New York through Albany, Syracuse, and Rochester to Buffalo; from Washington through the leading Southern cities to Atlanta; from Chicago south, by way of Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Louisville, to Nashville, Atlanta, and New Orleans, as well as to Memphis, San Antonio, and the City of Mexico; and from Chicago north, by way of Milwaukee, to St. Paul and Duluth. They also extend from Philadelphia through the interior of Pennsylvania, and touch, by an extension from Kansas City, the interior cities of Nebraska and Iowa on the north, and Kansas and Oklahoma on the south. Thus every city of consequence is reached by the wire system of The Associated Press.

Three of these leased wires are operated between New York and Chicago at night and two by day. The volume of Associated Press report thus served daily to a morning newspaper in Philadelphia or Baltimore, through which cities the three night wires are extended, exceeds sixty thousand words, or forty ordinary columns. The telegraph operators are men of exceptional skill, and receive higher salaries than are paid by the telegraph or railway companies. To expedite their work, they use automatic sending-machines, which greatly exceed hand transmission in speed, and employ a system of abbreviations which can be sent with surprising rapidity. The receiving operators take the letters by sound and write them upon a typewriter, and since no one is able to manipulate a Morse key as swiftly as he can operate a typewriter, there is a constant effort to hasten the sending in order to keep pace with the ability of the receiver. The following example will illustrate the system of abbreviation. A message is sent thus:

t scotus tdy dcdd 5 pw f potus dz n xtd to t
pips, ogt all pst cgsl xgn q sj is uxl.

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And it is rendered thus by the receiving operator:

The Supreme Court of the United States to-day decided that the power of the President of the United States does not extend to the Philippines, on the ground that all past Congressional legislation on the subject is unconstitutional.

In the larger cities, where many copies of the messages are required, a sheet which has been immersed in wax is used in the typewriter. When written upon it forms a stencil, which is placed upon a rotary cyclograph operated by an electric motor, and as many as three hundred copies of the message may be reproduced in a minute. One of these is thrust into an envelope bearing the printed address of a newspaper and shot through a pneumatic tube to the desk of the waiting telegraph editor in the newspaper office. Even this almost instantaneous method of delivery is too slow, however, for news of a sensational character. A bulletin wire connects the Associated Press office with every evening newspaper in New York, and the bulletins are flashed over it by operators of the highest skill, in emergencies. When the result of a great race arrives, the receiving operator shouts the news through a megaphone, and every sending operator in the room flashes it over his circuit.

A storm is a serious thing, and there is hardly a day in the year which is free from a storm somewhere in the vast territory covered by these leased wires. The expedients then resorted to are often interesting. During the great blizzard of 1888, in which Senator Roscoe Conkling lost his life, all communication was cut off between New York and Boston, and messages were sent from New York by cable to London, thence back to Canso on the Nova Scotian coast, and from Canso to Boston. In 1902 every wire between Boston and Philadelphia went down, and then special messengers were sent by train with the Associated Press telegrams. Last winter the wires between New York and Utica were swept away along the Hudson River. Then mes-

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sages were transmitted by way of Baltimore to Chicago, and back to Utica by way of Buffalo.

Thus, with its alliances with the great foreign agencies covering every point of the habitable globe, with its own American representatives in every important foreign city, with special commissioners to report events of great moment, with the correspondents and reporters of virtually all of the newspapers of the world laid under contribution, and with official recognition in a number of countries, The Associated Press is able to comb the earth for every happening of interest, and to present it to the newspaper reader with almost incredible speed.

II

THE METHOD OF OPERATION*

WITH the accession of Mr. William Henry Smith to the office of General Manager of The Associated Press, less than twenty-five years ago, there came a change for the better in the administration. The Western papers which had been admitted to a share in the management demanded more enterprise and a report of more varied character. The policy of limiting the field to "routine news"—sport, markets, shipping, etc.—was abandoned, and the institution began to show evidences of real journalistic life and ability. It startled the newspaper world by occasionally offering exclusive and well-written items of general interest. When Mr. Blaine was closing what promised to be a successful political campaign in 1884, it was an Associated Press man who shattered all precedents, as well as the candidate's hopes, by reporting Dr. Burchard's disastrous "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" speech. This was then an unheard-of display of enterprise.

*From *The Century Magazine*, July, 1905. Reprinted here with the courteous permission of The Century Company.

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Two years later the same reporter* scored again. He had been sent to Mount McGregor with many others to report General Grant's last illness. He was shrewd enough to arrange in advance with the doctor for prompt information of the final event. A system of signals had been agreed upon, and when, one day, the doctor sauntered out upon the veranda of the Drexel cottage and drew a handkerchief from his pocket and wiped his hands, the reporter knew that the General was dead and telegraphed the fact throughout the world. For months afterward it was spoken of with wonder as The Associated Press "scoop."

A MASTERPIECE OF REPORTING

Then came the Samoan disaster, in 1885, and with it a disclosure that an Associated Press man might not only be capable of securing exclusive news, but might also be able to write it in a creditable way. Mr. John P. Dunning of the San Francisco bureau happened to be in Apia when the great storm broke over the islands. In the roadstead were anchored three American war-vessels, the *Trenton*, *Nipsic*, and *Vandalia;* three German war-ships, the *Adler*, *Olga*, and *Eber;* and the British cruiser *Calliope*. All of the American and German ships were driven upon the coral reefs and destroyed, involving the loss of one hundred and fifty lives. The *Calliope*, a more modern vessel with superior engines, was able to escape. As she pushed her way into the heavy sea, in the teeth of the hurricane, the jackies of the *Trenton* "dressed ship," while her band played the British national anthem. It was a profoundly tragic salutation from those about to die.

Mr. Dunning's graphic story, which will long be accepted as a masterpiece of descriptive literature, was mailed to San Francisco, and a month later was published by the newspapers of The Associated Press. It was a

* This was the late Frank W. Mack.

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revelation to those who had long believed the organization incapable of producing anything more exciting than a market quotation. It was also an inspiration to those who were to succeed Mr. Smith in the administration of the business. It revealed the possibilities in store for the Association.

In the earlier days telegraphic facilities were so limited and the cost of messages was so great that it was necessary to report everything in the briefest form. It was enough that the facts were disclosed, and little heed was paid to the manner of presentation. Moreover, a great majority of those writing the despatches were telegraph operators, destitute of literary training.

The advantages of an Associated Press newspaper were very great. It was scarcely possible for a competitor to make headway against the obstacles which he was compelled to face. Not only was the burden of expense enormous, but the telegraph company which was in close alliance with the Association frequently delayed his service, or refused to transmit it at any price. It followed that the quantity of news which an editor was able to furnish his readers became the measure of his enterprise and ability. It was his proudest boast that his paper printed "all the news." James Gordon Bennett, Sr., of the New York *Herald*, and Wilbur F. Storey of the Chicago *Times*, set the pace, and won much fame by lavish expenditures for telegrams, which were often badly written.

A NEW STANDARD OF NEWS-GATHERING

As new cables were laid, and land wires were extended, and rival telegraph companies appeared, the cost of messages was reduced, and there came a demand for better writing and better editing. The hour for *selection* in news had arrived. It was obvious that no editor could any longer print all the information offered him, and it was equally evident that the reader, whose range of

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vision had been surprisingly widened by the modern means of communication, had neither time nor inclination to read it all. Editors who could and would *edit* were required. Newspapers presenting a carefully prepared perspective of the day's history of the world were needed.

Thus was clearly outlined the path along which The Associated Press must travel. Its resources were unlimited. Through its foreign alliances, it had a representative at every point of interest abroad; and, through its own membership, it was able to cover every part of the United States. It was only necessary to organize, educate, and utilize these forces. Strong men, specially trained for the work in hand, must be chosen, and stationed at strategic points. The ordinary correspondent would not do; indeed, as a rule, he of all men was least fitted for Associated Press work. Writing for a single newspaper, he might follow the editorial bias of his journal; and even though he was inexact, his statements were likely to pass unchallenged. In writing for The Associated Press any departure from strict accuracy and impartiality was certain to be discovered.

But the strategic points were not the only ones to be looked after. News of the highest importance, requiring for its proper treatment the best literary skill, was sure to develop in the most remote quarters. To find men in these out-of-the-way spots, imbued with the American idea of journalistic enterprise, and qualified to see an event in its proper proportions and to describe it adequately and vividly, was a serious undertaking. Yet the thing must be done, if the ideal service was to be reached.

THE BEST REPORTERS FOUND IN SMALL COMMUNITIES

Within the limits of the United States the task was a comparatively easy one. Here men of the required character were obtainable. It was only necessary to select them with care and to drill them to promptness,

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scrupulous accuracy, impartiality, and a graphic style. So wide-spread is American education that it was soon discovered that the best men could usually be found in the villages and the smaller cities. They were more sincere, better informed, and less "bumptious" than the journalistic Gascons so frequently employed on the metropolitan press.

For the foreign field, greater obstacles were presented. Our methods were not European methods, and the Europeans were not news-mad peoples. At the best, the contributions of any news-agency to the columns of any foreign newspaper were exceedingly limited and prosaic. This is particularly true upon the Continent, where the journals devote themselves chiefly to well-written political leaders and *feuilletons*, and where news has a distinctly secondary place.

I took up the subject with the chiefs of the foreign agencies. Fortunately, in Baron Herbert de Reuter, head of the great company which bears his name, I found a sympathetic ally. During twelve years of intimate intercourse with him he has shown at all times journalistic qualities of a very high order. A man of brilliant intellect, scholarly, modest, having a keen sense of the immense responsibility of his office, but of nervous temperament and tireless energy, he has shared every impulse to reach a higher level of excellence in the service. With his co-operation and that of Dr. Mantler, chief of the German agency, a zealous and efficient manager, but lacking the encouragement and stimulus of a news-reading and news-demanding public, substantial progress was made. The object desired was a correct perspective of the daily history of the world.

The end could not be reached at a single bound. Long-continued effort and the exercise of no small degree of patience were necessary. What has been done may perhaps best be illustrated by a few examples. When Mr. Chamberlain resigned from Mr. Balfour's

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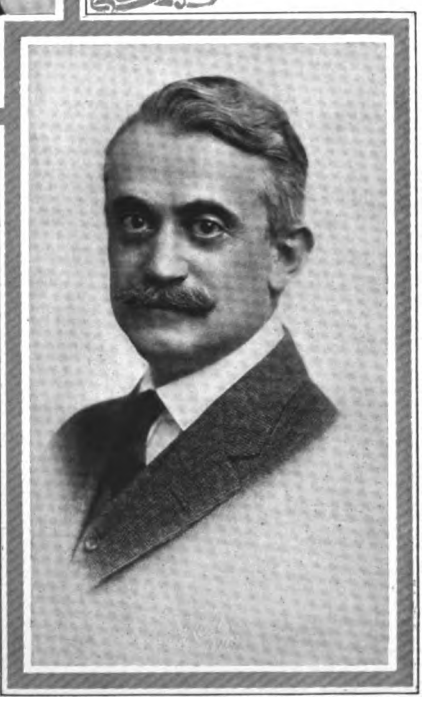
RALPH H. BOOTH
Muskegon Chronicle
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT



E. P. ADLER
Davenport Times
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
1917-1918

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ministry two years ago it was The Associated Press in London which gave this news to the world; and when the Alaskan Commission was summoned to meet in London in the autumn of 1903 the keenest interest in its deliberations was manifested in both countries, and the efforts of The Associated Press were naturally bent on keeping its readers fully informed of the deliberations of the commission. A few minutes after the final decision of the commission was reached, one Saturday evening, it had been flashed across the Atlantic. No official confirmation of this fact was obtainable in England until the meeting of the commission on Monday; but so implicit was the confidence felt in the news which had been published in America by The Associated Press that the English papers accepted its statements as true.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

On the afternoon of September 6, 1901, worn out by a long period of exacting labor, I set out for Philadelphia, with the purpose of spending a few days at Atlantic City. When I reached the Broad Street Station in the Quaker City I was startled by a number of policemen crying my name. I stepped up to one, who pointed to a boy with an urgent message for me. President McKinley had been shot at Buffalo, and my presence was required at our Philadelphia office at once. A message had been sent to me at Trenton, but my train had left the station precisely two minutes ahead of its arrival. Handing my baggage to a hotel porter, I jumped into a cab and dashed away to our office. I remained there until dawn of the following morning.

The opening pages of the story of the assassination were badly written, and I ordered a substitute prepared. An inexperienced reporter stood beside President McKinley in the Music Hall at Buffalo when Czolgosz fired the fatal shot. He seized a neighboring telephone and notified our Buffalo correspondent, and then pulled out the

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wires, in order to render the telephone a wreck, so that it was a full half-hour before any additional details could be secured.

I ordered competent men and expert telegraph operators from Washington, Albany, New York, and Boston to hurry to Buffalo by the fastest trains. All that night the Buffalo office was pouring forth a hastily written, but faithful and complete account of the tragedy, and by daybreak a relief force was on the ground. Day by day, through the long vigil while the President's life hung in the balance, each incident was truthfully and graphically reported. In the closing hours of the great tragedy false reports of the President's death were circulated for the purpose of influencing the stock-market, and, to counteract them, Secretary Cortelyou wrote frequent signed statements, giving the facts to The Associated Press.

THE MARTINIQUE DISASTER

On the night of May 3, 1902, a brief telegram from St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, reported that Mont Pelée, the volcano on the island of Martinique, was in eruption, and that the town of St. Pierre was enveloped in a fog and covered with ashes an inch deep. Cable communication was cut off. The following morning I set about securing the facts. We had two correspondents on the island, one at St. Pierre and the other at Fort de France, nine miles away; but clearly neither of these could be reached.

Fortunately, investigation disclosed that an old friend, a talented newspaper man, was the United States consul at Guadeloupe, an island only twelve hours distant. I instantly appealed to the State Department at Washington to give him a leave of absence, and, when this was granted, I cabled him to charter a boat and go to St. Pierre at once, and secure and transmit an adequate report. The Associated Press men at St. Vincent, St. Thomas, Porto Rico, Barbados, Trinidad, and St.

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Lucia were instructed to hurry forward any information that might reach them, and to endeavor to get to Martinique by any available means. St. Thomas alone was able to respond with a short telegram, three days later, announcing the destruction of the Martinique sugar-factories, which were only two miles distant from St. Pierre. The despatch also reported the loss of one hundred and fifty lives, and the existence of a panic at St. Pierre because of the condition of the volcano, which was now in full eruption and threatening everything on the island. Mr. Aymé, the consul at Guadeloupe, found difficulty in chartering a boat, but finally succeeded, and, after a thrilling and dangerous night run through a thick cloud of falling ashes and cinders, arrived before the ill-fated city. The appalling character of the catastrophe was then disclosed. Thirty thousand people, the population of the town, had been buried under a mass of hot ashes; one single human being had escaped. It was enough to make the stoutest heart grow faint.

But Aymé was a trained reporter, inured by long experience to trying scenes; and he set to work promptly to meet the responsibility which had been laid upon him. Our St. Pierre man had gone to his death on the common pyre, but Mr. Ivanes, the Associated Press correspondent at Fort de France, survived. With him Mr. Aymé joined effort, and, with great courage and at serious risk, they went over the blazing field and gathered the gruesome details of the disaster. Then Mr. Aymé wrote his story, returned to the cable-station at Guadeloupe, and sent it. It was a splendid piece of work, worthy of the younger Pliny, whose story of a like calamity at Pompeii has come down to us through two thousand years. It filled a page of the American newspapers on the morning of May 11, and was telegraphed to Europe. It was the first adequate account given to the world.

Mr. Aymé returned to Martinique and spent three

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weeks in further investigation, leaving his post of duty only when the last shred of information had been obtained and transmitted. As a result of his terrible experience, his health was impaired, and, although he was given a prolonged leave of absence, he has never recovered. It cost The Associated Press over $30,000 to report this event.

THE DEATH OF POPE LEO XIII.

The illness and death of the late Pope constituted another event which called for news-gathering ability of a high order. Preparations had been made long in advance. Conferences were held with the Italian officials and with the authorities at the Vatican, all looking to the establishment of relations of such intimacy as to guarantee us the news. We had been notified by the Italian Minister of Telegraphs that, because of the strained relations existing between his Government and the papal court, he should forbid the transmission of any telegrams announcing the Pope's death for two hours after the fatal moment, in order that Cardinal Rampolla might first notify the papal representatives in foreign countries. This was done as a gracious act of courtesy to the Church.

To meet the emergency, we arranged a code message to be sent by all cable-lines, which should be addressed, not to The Associated Press, but to the General Manager in person, and should read: "Number of missing bond, ——. (Signed) Montefiore." This bore on its face no reference to the death of the Pontiff, and would be transmitted. The blank was to be filled with the hour and moment of the Pope's death, reversed. That is, if he died at 2:53, the message would read: "Melstone, New York. Number of missing bond, 352. (Signed) Montefiore." The object of reversing the figures was, of course, to prevent a guess that it was a deception in order to convey the news. If the hour had been properly

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written, they might have suspected the purport of the message.

When, finally, the Pope died, although his bed was completely surrounded by burning candles, an attendant hurried from the room into an anteroom and called for a candle to pass before the lips of the dying man, to determine whether he still breathed. This was the signal for another attaché, who stepped to the telephone and announced to our correspondent, two miles away, that the Pope was dead. Unfortunately, the hour of his death was four minutes past four, so that whichever way it was written, whether directly or the reverse, it was 404.

Nevertheless, the figures were inserted in the blank in the bulletin which had been prepared, it was filed with the telegraph company, and it came through to New York in exactly nine minutes from the moment of death. It was relayed at Havre, and again at the terminal of the French Cable Company in New York, whence it came to our office on a short wire. The receiving operator there shouted the news to the entire operating-room of The Associated Press, and every man on every key on every circuit out of New York flashed the announcement that the Pope had died at four minutes past four; so that the fact was known in San Francisco within eleven minutes after its actual occurrence.

The Reuter, Havas, and Wolff agents located in our office in New York retransmitted the announcement to London, Paris, and Berlin, giving those cities their first news of the event. A comparison of the report of the London *Times* with that of any morning paper in the United States on the day following the death of the Pope would show that, both as to quantity and quality, our report was vastly superior. The London *Times* had a column and a half; the New York *Times* had a page of the graphic story of the scenes in and about the Vatican. The New York *Times* story was ours. This was so notable an event that it occasioned comment throughout the world.

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During the illness of the Pope I ordered a number of the best men from our London, Paris, and Vienna offices to Rome to assist our resident men. The advantage of such an arrangement was that the London men were in close touch with Church dignitaries of England, while our representatives from France and Vienna had their immediate circle of acquaintances among the Church dignitaries of those countries. The result was that Mr. Cortesi, the chief of our Rome office, was perfectly familiar with the local surroundings and was on intimate terms with Drs. Lapponi and Mazzoni of the Vatican as well as with the other resident officials of the Church, and was always able to command attention from them. Besides, he had not only the advantage of the assistance of trained men from our other European offices, but he had also the advantage of their acquaintance. We were enabled day by day to present an extraordinary picture of the scenes at the Vatican, and day by day the bulletins upon the condition of the Holy Father were transmitted with amazing rapidity. The death-bed scenes at Buffalo, when President McKinley was lying ill at the Milburn House, were reported with no greater degree of promptness and no greater detail. The funeral scenes were also covered in a remarkably ample way and with astounding rapidity. Then came the conclave for the election of a new Pope. It was to be secret, and every effort was made to prevent its proceedings from becoming public. A brick wall was constructed about the hall to prevent any one having access to it. But, to the amazement of every one, The Associated Press had a daily report of all that happened. One of the members of the Noble Guard was an Associated Press man. Knowing the devotion of the average Italian for the dove, he took with him into the conclave chamber his pet dove, which was a homing pigeon trained to go to our office. But Cardinal Rampolla could not be deceived; he ordered the pigeon killed. Other plans, however, were more successful. Laundry lists sent out with the soiled linen of a cardinal,

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and a physician's prescriptions sent to a pharmacy, proved to be code messages which were deciphered in our office. We were enabled not only to give a complete and accurate story of the happenings within the conclave chamber, but we announced the election of the new Pope, which occurred about 11 A.M. in Rome, so promptly that, owing to the difference in time, it was printed in the morning papers of San Francisco of that day. We were also enabled to send the announcement back to Europe before it was received from Rome direct, and it was our message that was printed in all the European capitals. The Italian authorities did not interfere with these messages.

THE USE OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

Of late years the international yacht races off Sandy Hook have, as a rule, been reported by wireless telegraphy. Stations have been erected on Long Island and on the coast of New Jersey, and a fast-going yacht, equipped with Marconi apparatus, has followed the racers. A running story, transmitted through the air to the coast, has been instantly relayed by land wires to the main office of the Association in New York, and thence distributed over the country. Such a report of the contest costs over $25,000.

HOW NATIONAL CONVENTIONS ARE REPORTED

"Presidential years" are always trying ones for the management. In 1896 the friends of Speaker Reed were incensed because we were unable to see that a majority of the delegates to the Republican National Convention were Reed men. Not that I think they really believed this; but everything is accounted fair in the game of politics, and they thought it would help their cause if The Associated Press would announce each delegation, on its selection, as for Reed. They appealed to me; but

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of course I could not misstate the facts, and they took great umbrage. The St. Louis Convention, when it assembled, verified our declarations, for Mr. Reed's vote was insignificant.

The national conventions are our first care. Preparations begin months before they assemble. Rooms are engaged at all the leading hotels, so that Associated Press men may be in touch with every delegation. The plans of the convention hall are examined, and arrangements are made for operating-room and seats. The wires of the Association are carried into the building, and a work-room is usually located beneath the platform of the presiding officer. A private passage is cut, connecting this work-room with the reporters' chairs, which are placed directly in front of the stand occupied by speakers, and inclosed by a rail to prevent interference from the surging masses certain to congregate in the neighborhood.

A week before the convention opens, a number of Associated Press men are on the ground to report the assembling of the delegates, to sound them as to their plans and preferences, and to indicate the trend of the gathering in their despatches as well as they may. The National Committee holds its meeting in advance of the convention, decides upon a roll of members, and names a presiding officer. All this is significant, and is often equivalent to a determination of the party candidates.

Of the convention itself, The Associated Press makes three distinct reports. A reporter sits in the hall and dictates to an operator, who sends out bulletins. These follow the events instantly, are necessarily very brief, and are often used by the newspapers to post on bulletin-boards. There is also a graphic running story of the proceedings. This is written by three men, seated together, each writing for ten minutes and then resting twenty. The copy is hastily edited by a fourth man, so that it may harmonize. This report is usually printed by after-

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noon papers. Finally there is a verbatim report, which is printed by the large metropolitan dailies. A corps of expert stenographers, who take turns in the work, are employed. As a delegate rises in any part of the hall, one of these stenographers dashes to his side and reports his utterances. He then rushes to the work-room and dictates his notes to a rapid typewriter, while another stenographer replaces him upon the convention floor. The nominating speeches are usually furnished by their authors weeks in advance, and are in type in the newspaper offices awaiting their delivery and release.

The men who report these conventions are drawn from all the principal offices of The Associated Press. Coming from different parts of the country, they are personally acquainted with a large majority of the delegates. There is a close division of labor—certain men are assigned to write bulletins; others to do descriptive work; still others to prepare introductory summaries; a number to watch and report the proceedings of secret committees; and a force of "scouts" are kept in close touch with the party leaders, and learn of projects the instant that they begin to mature. Out of it all comes a service which puts the newspaper reader of the country in instant and constant possession of every developing fact and gives him a pen-picture of every scene. Indeed, he has a better grasp of the situation than if he were present in the convention hall.

When the candidates are named and the platforms adopted the campaign opens, and for several months The Associated Press faces steadily increasing responsibilities. The greatest care is observed to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality, and yet to miss no fact of interest. If a candidate, or one of the great party leaders, makes a "stumping journey," stenographers and descriptive writers must accompany him. While Mr. Bryan was "on tour," it was his practice to speak hurriedly from the rear platform of his train, and instantly to leave for the next appointment. While he was speaking the Asso-

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ciated Press stenographer was taking notes. When the train started, these notes were dictated to a typewriter, and at the next stopping-point were handed over to a waiting local Associated Press man, who put the speech on the telegraph wires. In the general offices records are kept of the number of words sent out, so that at the end of the campaign the volume of Republican and Democratic speeches reported is expected to balance.

Finally, the work of Election Day is mapped out in advance with scrupulous care, and each correspondent in the country has definite instructions as to the part he is to play. On Election Day brief bulletins on the condition of the weather in every part of the nation, and on the character of the voting, are furnished to the afternoon papers. The moment the polls close, the counting begins. Associated Press men everywhere are gathering precinct returns and hurrying them to county headquarters, where they are hastily added, and the totals for the county on Presidential electors are wired to the State headquarters of the Association. The forces of men at these general offices are augmented by the employment of expert accountants and adding-machines from the local banks, and the labor is so subdivided that last year the result of the contest was announced by eight o'clock in the evening, and at midnight a return, virtually accurate, of the majority in every State was presented to the newspapers. It was the first occasion on which the result of an American general election was transmitted to Europe in time to appear in the London morning papers of the day succeeding the election.

GUARANTY OF IMPARTIALITY

If I were not what Mr. Gladstone once called "an old parliamentary hand," if I had not given and taken the buffets of aggressive American journalism for many years, and if Heaven had not blessed me with a certain measure of the saving grace of humor, I think I should

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have been sent to an early grave by the unreasonable and unfair attacks made upon my administration of the Associated Press news service. In the exciting Presidential campaign of 1896, Senator Jones, the Democratic national chairman, openly charged me with favoring the Republicans; while Mr. Hanna, his opponent, was at the point of breaking a long-time personal friendship because he regarded me as distinctly "pro-Bryan." The truth is, both men had lost their balance; neither was capable of a judicial view; each wanted, not an impartial service, but one which would help his side. Fortunately, the candidates preserved a better poise than their lieutenants. At the close of the campaign both Bryan and McKinley wrote me that they were impressed with the impartiality which we had observed.

A former Senator of New York controlled a paper at Albany and named one of his secretaries as its editor. Then trouble began to brew. Day after day I was plied with letters charging me with unfairness. Every time we reported a speech of President Roosevelt's I was accused of favoring the Republicans, while the failure to chronicle the result of an insignificant ward caucus in New Jersey was clear evidence that I was inimical to the Democrats. I patiently investigated each complaint, and explained that there were limitations upon the volume of our service; that the utterances of any incumbent of the Presidential office must properly be reported, while the result of a ward caucus must be ignored, if we were to give any heed to their relative news values. Still the young man was not happy, and, when I had done all that reason or courtesy required, I notified the Senator, who had been inspiring the criticisms, that "I must decline to walk the floor with his infant any longer." That ended the matter.

During a Congressional inquiry, a number of trade-unionists appeared and testified for days in denunciation of The Associated Press, because they conceived it to be unfriendly to their cause. More recently, but with equal injustice, the secretary of the Citizens' Industrial

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Association has been pelting me with letters charging our Association with favoring organized labor.

When we reported the death of the late Pope in a manner befitting his exalted station, a number of Methodist newspapers gravely asserted that I was a Catholic, or controlled by Vatican influences, although, as a matter of fact, my father was a Methodist clergyman and my mother the grandniece of a coadjutor of John Wesley. On the other hand, not long since, when The Associated Press reported the Marquise des Monstiers's renunciation of the Catholic faith, certain Catholic newspapers flew into a rage and asserted that I was an anti-Catholic bigot.

The more frequent criticisms, however, result from want of knowledge of the true mission of the organization. Many persons, unfamiliar with newspaper methods, mistake special telegrams for Associated Press service, and hold us to an undeserved responsibility. Many others, having "axes to grind," and quite willing to pay for the grinding, find it difficult to believe that not only does the Association do no grinding, but by the very nature of its methods such grinding is made impossible. The man who would pay The Associated Press for "booming" his project would be throwing his money away. Any man in the service of the Association, from the General Manager to the humblest employee, who should attempt to "boom" a project would be instantly discovered, disgraced, and dismissed.

The four years' struggle with The United Press was waged over this principle. Victor F. Lawson of the Chicago *Daily News*, Charles W. Knapp of the St. Louis *Republic*, Frederick Driscoll of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, and those associated with them in that contest, deserve the lasting gratitude of the American people for having established, at a vast cost of time, labor, and money, a method of news-gathering and distribution free from a chance of contamination. Seven hundred newspapers, representing every conceivable view of every public question, sit in judgment upon the Associated Press

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despatches. A representative of each of these papers has a vote in the election of the management. Every editor is jealously watching every line of the report. It must be obvious that any serious departure from an honest and impartial service would arouse a storm of indignation which would overwhelm any administration.

III

ITS GENERAL FOREIGN SERVICE*

STUDENTS of American history have long observed that although we established our political independence by the wars of 1776 and 1812, our literary and social dependence upon England has never been fully broken. Our cousins oversea, in the persons of such recognized censors as Gifford of the *Quarterly Review*, sneered at our novelists; Tom Moore condemned our democratic institutions; and Charles Dickens accused us of bad manners. We, on the other hand, had not been free from blame. We had taught our children a history of England which related little more of her than the fact that she had fought us in two wars, and we made no account of her splendid record in the development of the world's best civilization. All of these things made for unfriendly relations. Yet, all the while, we suffered London to dictate our opinion respecting every other nation. From its beginning The Associated Press had only one foreign agency, and that was located in the British metropolis. It was from a British news-agency or through the English special despatches that we derived all our European news. True, there were interesting letters from the Continental capitals; but, long before their arrival or publication, the story of any important event had been told from London and had

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made its impress upon the American mind—an impress which it was not easy to correct. The fact that the British views were presented in the English language obviously made them easier of access and gave them wider currency in this country. Thus British opinion, in large measure, became our opinion.

After the Spanish War of 1898 our vision was suddenly and remarkably widened. Then the ambassadors from the Continental nations at Washington began to urge that the time had come for the United States to look at their peoples through American eyes. M. Jules Cambon, the French ambassador, was particularly perturbed because all of the news respecting France came through London and took on a British *nuance*. It did not follow that such reports were inaccurate, but they were written to supply what the English people were presumed to want; and the London point of view, as Lowell said, is:

Whut's good's all English; all thet isn't ain't.

There was evidence of a strong desire on the part of European powers for pleasant relations with the United States; they were very anxious that The Associated Press should name its own competent correspondents, who should reside in the different Continental capitals of Europe and should study each country as Americans. An unkind phrase respecting the United States in an altogether inconsequential German paper, when printed in the Associated Press despatches in this country, was likely to cause great friction. Although the character of the paper was unknown, it was assumed to voice German sentiment because it was a German paper. This led to a distinct protest on the part of our German-American newspapers against the character of that service, and an urgent demand that we establish a bureau at Berlin.

I explained to M. Cambon the reasons for the existing

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method. It had been our experience that if an Associated Press correspondent in any of the smaller cities of France should file a despatch for The Associated Press, it would be hung on a hook by a stupid clerk in the Government telegraph office. They would then send all the Government messages they had, and all the death messages, and all the commercial messages, and then they would take the Associated Press message from the hook and send it forward; but on its arrival in Paris it would suffer a like delay. The consequence was that it took us from six to seven hours to get a despatch through. On the other hand, we had found that we could obtain this news in Paris, send it by long-distance telephone to London, and there put it on the cable and forward it much more rapidly. To send a message from New York to Rome and secure a reply usually required twenty-four hours. I suggested that if the French Government could see its way clear to expedite our service, and if it would throw open all departments of the Government and give us the news, I should be very glad to establish a bureau in Paris and take all our news respecting France from Paris direct.

M. Cambon asked me to go abroad and take the matter up with his Government, and, after some delay and some discussion of the subject, I agreed to do so. This was in the autumn of 1902. The only preparation made was that Ambassador Cambon had reported to the French Foreign Office on the desirability of some change, and had explained to them my wishes.

On my arrival in Paris I called on M. Delcassé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He received me cordially, was fully advised of the situation, and evinced much interest. He said that while it was a rather serious business, and one which he must take up with his confrères, particularly the Minister of Telegraphs, he sincerely favored my views. He invited me to breakfast in the palace of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There I met two or three of the other ministers. I told them

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that our people must be absolutely free, that there must be no attempt to influence them. While, in order to be useful, the representative of The Associated Press accredited to any capital must be on friendly terms with the Government at that capital, he must not be a servile agent of that Government; we could not deny ourselves the right of free criticism, and anything we might do must be done with the distinct understanding that the Government would not influence the character of the service as to its impartiality.

I found that there was likely to be a good deal of delay, and, after laying the matter before the French minister and telling him what I desired, and receiving an expression of his purpose to work it out as best he could, I left him.

My interview with M. Delcassé was in his private room in the palace set apart for the Department of Foreign Affairs. He called my attention to an old mahogany table at his side, which, he said, had served three times to affect the fate of the American Republic. On it was signed the convention which Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane made with the French Government to secure funds for the United States in its struggling days. On it were also signed the Treaty of Peace following the War of 1812, and the Treaty of Peace with Spain in 1898.

I returned to New York, and a month later M. Delcassé presented his plan. The French officials would give the representative of The Associated Press all proper information. They would answer any questions that might be of interest to this country, and they would do all in their power to expedite the service. They issued three forms of telegraph blanks: one bearing across its face, in red ink, the words "Associated Press"; the second form, the words "Associated Press, très pressé"; and the third form, the words "Associated Press, urgent." These they issued to us, to be used at our discretion and subject to a general order of the French Government, sent to all telegraph employees throughout

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VICTOR F. LAWSON
Chicago Daily News

FRANK B. NOYES
Washington Star

WILLIAM L. McLEAN
Philadelphia Bulletin

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France, which provided that when the first form was deposited in any French telegraph office, the operator should send forward all Government messages and then the Associated Press message should be transmitted immediately thereafter; if the second form, "Associated Press, très pressé," was used, the despatch should follow the Government message then on the wire and precede any other Government message; and if an "Associated Press, urgent" message should be presented, the operator should immediately stop the outgoing Government message and forward the press despatch immediately. This arrangement was put into force. Since then our despatches from France, long and short, have averaged about twenty-one minutes. We established an adequate bureau in Paris, and employed a large number of subordinate correspondents throughout the country, sometimes Frenchmen and sometimes Americans, and our service has proved highly satisfactory. It is no more expensive than formerly, the rate from Paris direct being precisely the rate from London direct, so that we save the transmission from Paris to London for which we formerly paid. The office expenses may be increased somewhat, but, in compensation, we have reduced the office force in London.

I had suggested that Paris, and not London, was the natural point of concentration for our despatches from the Latin nations, and M. Delcassé, having that in mind, invited me to confer with the Italian and Spanish Governments. I therefore went abroad again. The French Foreign Office was pleased with the experience they had had. They issued a formal letter of instructions to M. Barrère, French ambassador at the Quirinal, to take the matter up with the Italian Government, with a view to inducing that Government to expedite our service from Italy to the French border, where the messages would be forwarded by the French administration and rushed on to New York. I went to Rome and, after paying calls on the American ambassador, saw

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M. Barrère, who had received his instructions, and who entered upon the work enthusiastically. He desired to secure the concession distinctly on behalf of the French Government; while he was glad to receive the co-operation of the American ambassador, he wished to make it his own special work. M. Barrère speaks English perfectly.

The American ambassador, Mr. Meyer, gave a luncheon in my honor, at which were present Signor Prinetti, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Barrère. The subject was talked over in detail with Signor Prinetti, and I was then commanded to an audience with the King. Going to the Quirinal, I entered a small anteroom at noon, where two aides were in waiting. His Majesty received me in an adjoining room. I found him dressed in the costume of an officer of the Italian army—dark-blue blouse and light-blue trousers with black stripes. He greeted me cordially, and asked me to be seated. He sat on a sofa, while I was given a chair, and we entered into a lively conversation. He said he knew the purpose of my visit, having been informed of it through Prinetti. He was glad that we were disposed to take up the matter of a service from Rome direct, assured me that he would do everything that could be done, and thought there would be no difficulty in meeting our wishes; I could rest assured of his loyal effort in the matter, and that it would be pursued without delay.

We talked at some length about Marconi, in whose work he displayed a deep interest, and of the relations between Italy and America. I suggested the difficult position in which an Associated Press representative would find himself in Rome because of the contest between the Vatican and the Quirinal. I found, however, that while officially affairs were strained, personal relations were not unkindly. Leo XIII. was Pope. The King spoke most kindly of the Holy Father, and while, of course, they never met, there was no bitterness mani-

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fested on either side. I told him that ordinarily it would be necessary for me to appoint two representatives, one for the Vatican and one for the Quirinal, but that I had a man in mind whom I thought *persona grata* to both sides. I had talked of this man with Prinetti, who had expressed the highest confidence in him. The King said he thought it would be quite unnecessary to appoint two representatives if the Vatican were disposed to go half-way; with one man there would be less danger of friction.

The King expressed his high appreciation of the work of the Association, and called attention to the fact that a number of his own Ministers were newspaper men, and that his American ambassador, Signor Mayor des Planches, was an old-time journalist in whom he had great confidence. He said, in speaking of the relations between the United States and Italy, that he trusted that they would always be cordial. The Italians felt that, through Columbus, they had given America to the world, and that they had a peculiar interest, therefore, in the United States. He also said that while Italy is spoken of as a kingdom, it is in fact a republic in disguise, having the same parliamentary freedom that exists in England and the United States. Concerning Italian emigration to the United States, he said he was greatly pleased because a large number of the emigrants who went to the United States perfected themselves by their sojourn there, learned American methods, and then came back to Italy and applied these methods in their home life. He said that the percentage of Italians who emigrated to the United States and remained there was much smaller than was generally supposed. He added that it was the practice of many emigrants to go to the United States for work during the summer season, and then return to Italy and spend their surplus earnings in acquiring lands and bettering their condition. He expressed the hope that Italian citizens would be found to be good citizens of the United States. They were law-abiding and economical.

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I also had an audience with the Pope. It, too, was held at noon. I drove to the Vatican, and was received by a secretary. At every turn of the stairway were members of the Swiss Guard in their brilliant uniform. On my arrival at the residence floor, a member of the Noble Guard greeted me and received my wraps. I was then taken through a long series of rooms until I arrived at the throne-room. There I met a French Cardinal, who greeted me, and then I entered the anteroom of the papal reception-hall. A door was opened, and I was admitted to the presence of the Holy Father. The room was perhaps twenty feet by thirty. At one end, on a slightly raised dais, sat the Pope. The surroundings formed a striking picture. The venerable prelate was dressed in the cream-white garb of his office. His face was the color of parchment, and not different from the tone of his vestments. A "dim religious light" came in from the high window. On each side of him down the hall were ranged seats at a lower level.

As I entered, I bowed with formality, and in a faint voice I heard him call my name. He reached out his hand and asked me to approach. Grasping my hand, he requested me to sit at his side, though on a lower level. There was no one else in the room. He took my right hand in his and covered it with his left, and during the hour that I talked with him he held it thus in an affectionate, parental way.

I said that I was afraid he could not comprehend all I had to say in bad French. To which he replied, "I am an Italian and speak French with an Italian accent, and if we speak very slowly we shall be able to understand each other."

He was most anxious that the United States should accredit an ambassador to his court. "I am told," he said, "that there are political difficulties about it, but I cannot see why there should be. Germany, which is a Protestant nation, sends an ambassador to my court as well as one to the Quirinal. Russia, which is heretical

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and believes its own Emperor is the vicegerent of God, also sends one. Why cannot the United States? I should be very happy if I could close my long career by establishing relations with this young republic through their sending an ambassador to my court." Three or four times he referred to the subject with great earnestness. It seemed very near to his heart.

The Pope at the time had shown wonderful capacity in dealing with the Philippine question. He had been very prompt in his decisions, and I took the liberty of saying to him that he was almost an American in the energetic way in which he had dealt with the subject. He laughed and replied: "Yes, yes; but, after all, what is time to the Church? What is yesterday, or to-day, or to-morrow? The Church is eternal." Something was said about the Quirinal. I cannot tell what led to it, but I shall never forget the dramatic incident. He was leaning over his chair. "Yes, yes," he said, faintly; "I am nearly ninety-four years old. I am a prisoner, but I am a sovereign!"

You cannot leave the presence of royalty until dismissed; you must receive your *congé*. As he was holding my hand and talking on in a kindly, gentle way, I saw no prospect of a dismissal. Finally I ventured to say, "I am afraid I am fatiguing you?" He turned and said, "You will come and see me again?" "Unfortunately, your Holiness," I replied, "I must start for Paris at ten minutes to three to-day." "Yes, yes," he said; "I know you go to Paris to-day; that was the reason I fixed the audience at twelve o'clock. But you will come again? Come any time within ten years and I shall be glad to see you."

I called on Cardinal Rampolla, and had a long talk with him in respect to the man whom I should appoint as our representative, and I named the gentleman whom I had in mind. He said he had a very great regard for him, and that, while he thought his sympathies were with the Quirinal, he still thought he would be just in all ques-

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tions pertaining to Roman news. I appointed the gentleman, and he has proved very acceptable to both sides.*

At a dinner Signor Prinetti had said that he had had a conference with his colleagues, and that he would be able to meet our wishes. Then he turned to me and said: "I have something which may interest you. Some time ago the Italian Government issued, in twenty-five or thirty parts, facsimiles of all the known reports and letters of Christopher Columbus—every known document bearing his handwriting and signature—and sent them to the royal libraries throughout Europe. I think we have one copy left, and I shall be very glad if you will permit me to present this one to you." I expressed my pleasure and gratitude.

Three or four days after this dinner I went to the hunt outside of Rome. On my return I learned that Prinetti had, while in audience with the King, suffered a stroke of apoplexy. I left my card at Madame Prinetti's and wrote a letter of condolence to his chief assistant. I received a reply expressing Madame Prinetti's appreciation and adding, "I think you will be interested to learn that the last official act of Signor Prinetti, before he was stricken, was to sign an order to deliver the copy of the Columbus books to our consul-general in New York, to be forwarded to you."

Next day my business with the Italian Government was arranged, and from that time our despatches have been coming from Italy in less than half an hour. When the Pope died we received the bulletin announcing the fact from the Vatican, two miles distant from our office in Rome, in nine minutes, and retransmitted it to Paris, Berlin, and London, giving them the first news.

I went to Berlin, where I was "commanded" to an *Ordenfest*, and to dine with the Emperor. It occurred on a Sunday. The *Ordenfest* was an annual reception given by the imperial family to all persons who had been deco-

* This correspondent is Mr. Salvatore Cortesi, still correspondent of The Associated Press at Rome.

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rated during the preceding year. The most distinguished men of Germany were present to the number of several hundred. At noon, in the chapel of the Schloss in Berlin, all those entitled to admission assembled. I drove to the Schloss, presented my card, and mounted the stairs to the chapel. At the chapel door I was escorted by a court marshal to a seat, where I watched the company gather. There were generals and admirals and many distinguished men. Facing the pulpit was a space reserved for the imperial family, three tiers of seats deep. After I had been sitting for some time, Baron von Richthofen, of the Foreign Office, came up and said, "This is not the seat for you; you are misplaced. A seat has been reserved for you." Then he led me to a seat immediately back of the imperial family.

When the chapel was filled the master of ceremonies, with his mace in hand, rapped, and the imperial party entered. Every one rose as the Emperor and the Empress appeared and passed to the seats reserved for them. Four pages carried the Empress's train. Prince Henry and Princess Irene, his wife; Prince Leopold and Princess Leopold; and Prince Eitel, the Emperor's second son, followed. The Emperor sat at the extreme end of a row, with the Empress at his side, and next to Prince Henry, Prince Leopold, and their wives. Behind them were the younger members of the imperial family and the court attendants.

The form of service of the Lutheran faith began, and at the proper times the Emperor rose first, and all others followed his action. When he sat, every one else followed. At the close of the service the imperial party withdrew, and Baron von Richthofen and his chief secretary, Dr. von Mühlberg, led me to the great White Hall, where a one-o'clock dinner was served. I was seated directly opposite the Kaiser. There were two long tables, one slightly raised on a platform, and in front of this another, at which I was seated. Herr Sydow, Postmaster-General, sat on my right, and Dr.

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Becker, President of the Reichstag, on my left. There were about twenty at table, including the imperial family. After those at the lower table had assembled there was a warning of some sort, and we all rose while the imperial party, with the Emperor leading, entered.

They came in at the end of the hall and marched across and took their appointed places, everybody standing until the Emperor was seated. At the Emperor's left sat the Empress, and at his right, Prince Leopold. Farther along sat Prince Eitel and Prince Henry and Princess Irene. The Crown Prince was not present. The dinner proceeded without incident. When it had ended the Emperor rose and offered the health of his guests, and then with a martial air turned and marched out, the imperial family following, while we at the lower table remained standing in our places. Then the Hofmarschall, gorgeously arrayed in the gold-braided costume of his office, came up and asked me to follow him. We went through a long series of halls and came to one where there were two doors with soldiers guarding them with crossed bayonets. As we approached, the guards raised their guns, and we entered. I found myself in the presence of the imperial family of Germany.

The Emperor stood at the farther side of the room, by a mantel, and standing about were the Empress, Prince Henry, Princess Irene, Prince Eitel, and Prince Leopold. Nobody else was in the room. I was presented to the Kaiser. He greeted me very cordially, and spoke in English of my mission to Berlin, and expressed his pleasure at the prospect that the people of the United States would be able to see Germany through American eyes. He said freely and at some length that he bore our people in affectionate regard, and assured me that he would give the necessary orders to put The Associated Press in a satisfactory position in Germany. Finally, turning to Prince Henry, he said, "Here is a gentleman whom you know." The Prince

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was standing by his side and greeted me, adding, "I want you to know my wife." He then presented me to Princess Irene. She was cordial, speaking of her English ancestors and the delight she had in meeting one who spoke her mother-tongue. Meanwhile several hundred people had gathered in the hall outside, awaiting an audience. The Hofmarschall approached and said that the Empress was ready to receive me. She was very gracious and said, "I hope you will enjoy yourself; we want you to know you are welcome." General von Plessen, who had visited the United States with Prince Henry, entered the room and greeted me cordially. As Von Plessen began talking, a young fellow came up—a splendid, stalwart boy—and, clicking his heels together, said: "I am Eitel; and I want to thank you for the courtesies you extended to my Uncle Henry while he was in America. It was very kind of you, and we all appreciated it." I said it was a pleasure for which no American deserved thanks. He was delightfully diffident. "Do you like yachting?" he asked. "Have you seen the *Meteor?*" "Yes," I replied; "she is a fine boat." He answered: "I hope to have a sail in her. I am sorry that my brother, the Crown Prince, is not here. He has gone to Russia. He will be greatly grieved because he is not here. I know you return to Italy. How long will you be in Italy? My brother and I are going to Italy, and if you will do me the honor to call on me there I shall be pleased."

By this time the doors of the great hall opened, and the Emperor and Empress went out among the waiting people. The Emperor walked up on one side of the hall and the Empress on the other, an improvised avenue being arranged for each. Baron von Richthofen presented me to a number of ambassadors. Prince Henry came up in a most informal way and said: "I know you will forgive me if I am not as attentive to you as I should like to be, because this is the one time in the year when every one in Germany who has been deco-

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rated has the right to command our attention. But," he continued, "I hope you will enjoy yourself. We want to make you welcome. You will meet here many of the most distinguished men in Germany." The Hofmarschall signaled me to the presence of the Empress. Beside her was standing a little old man to whom she presented me. It was Menzel, the artist. He had just painted a picture of Frederick the Great, which he had dedicated to the people of the United States, and I congratulated him on the splendid work. Then I drifted to the other side of the hall as the Kaiser was coming up. He stopped and said: "I think you will find this an interesting ceremony. Every man who has been decorated within the year comes here, and we hold this reception. This man," he added, pointing to one obviously of the peasant class, "is a letter-carrier. He has been decorated. Back there is a locomotive-engine driver. A man may be decorated for courage or for skill. They all come here on this occasion."

The reception lasted until four o'clock, when the imperial family withdrew.

I met Postmaster-General Sydow. We talked over the French plan for expediting our telegrams. I said I thought a simpler way could be adopted. We finally agreed upon a small red label bearing the word "America." Pasted on a despatch anywhere in Germany, it meant that the despatch must take first place on the wires.

I had now perfected arrangements of a most satisfactory character with the French, Italian, and German Governments, and they all went into effect about the 1st of January, 1903.

A year later I was again invited to dinner by the German Emperor, and had an hour alone with him. He said he was greatly pleased with the better understanding which had developed between Germany and the United States, which he was good enough to attribute in large measure to the presentation of a just view of

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German events and German motives by The Associated Press. He freely declared his desire to cement the friendly relations existing between the two nations, not because of any immediate political consequences, but in the larger interests of the world's peace and progress. He made no secret of his impatience over the hypercritical, not to say censorious or malignant, tone of a number of journals of both countries, and said he believed that only harm could result from their utterances. His manner was wholly unrestrained, cordial, and democratic. He was greatly gratified at the reception accorded to his brother, Prince Henry, but hoped that no citizen of the United States would imagine that the visit of the Prince meant more than a sincere desire to foster good-fellowship between the two peoples.

IV

THE REMOVAL OF THE RUSSIAN CENSORSHIP ON FOREIGN NEWS*

SATISFACTORY relations had been arranged between The Associated Press and France, Germany, and Italy, but obviously the place of chief interest was Russia. It had often been suggested that we station correspondents at St. Petersburg, but apparently the time was not ripe. It was the last country in which to try an experiment. Wisdom therefore dictated a delay until it could be determined how the agreement with other Continental powers would work out. Moreover, it was important that the St. Petersburg bureau, in case one should be established, should be conducted by a correspondent of singular tact. With this possible course in view, I put in training for the post a gentleman from our Washington office in whom I had great confidence. He

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was a graphic writer and a man of wide information and rare discretion. He studied French until he was able to speak with reasonable freedom, and devoted himself to the study of Russian history.*

The situation at the Russian capital was peculiar. Every conceivable obstacle was put in the way of the foreign journalist who attempted to telegraph news thence to any alien newspaper or agency. The business of news-gathering was under ban in the Czar's empire. The doors of the Ministers of State were closed; no public official would give audience to a correspondent. Even subordinate government employees did not dare to be seen in conversation with a member of the hated guild, and all telegrams were subject to a rigorous censorship.

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, was friendly, and desired me to act. While I still had the matter under consideration, an agent of the Russian Government urged me to go at once to St. Petersburg. I sailed in December, 1903, and by arrangement met the Russian agent in London. To him I explained that we were ready to take our news of Russia direct from St. Petersburg, instead of receiving it through London, but to do that four things seemed essential: First, the Russian Government should accord us a press rate that would enable us to send news economically. Second, they should give us such precedence for our despatches as the French, Italian, and German Governments had done. Third, they must open the doors of their various departments and give us the news. And, fourth, they must remove the censorship and enable us to send the news. If we should go there at all, we must go free to tell the truth. Obviously, we could not tell the truth unless we could learn the truth and be free to send it.

The agent said that, acting under instructions, he would leave London immediately for St. Petersburg, in order to have a week there before my arrival, so as to

* This was the late Howard Thompson.

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lay the matter before the Ministers in detail. Meanwhile I went to Paris. At my suggestion, the French Foreign Office wrote to their ambassador at St. Petersburg, instructing him to use his good offices with the Russian Government, the ally of the French Government, in an attempt to secure for The Associated Press the service that was desired. They assured the Russian Government that they believed the best interests of the world and of Russia would be served by granting my request, which they regarded as very reasonable. I went to Berlin, and the German Foreign Office advised the German ambassador at St. Petersburg in the same manner. On my arrival in St. Petersburg, therefore, I had the friendly intercession of the ambassadors of both these Governments, and the support of Count Cassini, as well as the influence of our own ambassador, Mr. McCormick.

An audience with Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was arranged, and Mr. McCormick and I laid the subject before him. He was perfectly familiar with it, as he had received the report of the Government agent and had also received favorable advices from Count Cassini. The Minister assured me that he would do everything in his power to aid in the movement, because he felt that it was wise; but, unfortunately, the whole question of the censorship and of telegraphic transmission was in the hands of the Minister of the Interior, M. Plehve. Count Lamsdorff said that, the day before our call, he had transmitted their agent's report to Plehve, with an urgent letter advising the Russian Government to meet the wishes of The Associated Press. He told me that I could rely on his friendly offices, and I left him.

The reply of Count Lamsdorff, and later that of M. Plehve, disclosed the anomalous condition of the Russian Government. The Ministers of State are independent of one another, each reporting to the Emperor, and frequently they are at odds among themselves.

Ambassador McCormick and I called on Minister

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Plehve. We found him most agreeable. I studied him with some care. A strong, forceful, but affable gentleman, he impressed me as a man charged with very heavy responsibilities, quite mindful of the fact, and fearful lest any change in existing conditions might be fraught with danger. He said, frankly, that he was not prepared to abolish the censorship. To his mind it was a very imprudent thing to do, but he said he would go as far as he could toward meeting our wishes. As to a press rate, unfortunately that was in the hands of the Minister of Finance, and he had no control of the subject; and as to expediting our despatches, in view of the entirely independent character of each Minister it would be beyond his power to stop a Government message, or a message from any member of the royal family, in our favor. Beyond that he would give us as great speed as was in his power. He would be very glad, so far as his bureau was concerned, to give such directions as would enable our correspondent to secure all proper information.

As I have said, no newspaper man at that time could expect to secure admission to any department of the Government. Indeed, a card would not be taken at the door if it were known to be that of a newspaper man. The consequence was that the correspondent got his information at the hotels, in the cafés, or in the streets. The papers published little, but the streets were full of rumors of all kinds, and some of them of the wildest character. After running down a rumor and satisfying himself as to its verity, the correspondent would write his despatch and drive two or three miles to the office of the censor. The restrictions put upon foreign correspondents had been so great that they had virtually abandoned Russia; and when I arrived there, with the exception of our men who had preceded me, no foreign correspondent was sending daily telegrams from St. Petersburg. The thing was retroactive. Because the Government would not permit despatches to go freely, no despatches were going. The censor's duties, therefore,

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had been so lightened that the Government had added to his work the censorship of the drama, and the chances were that when the correspondent called he would have to run around to some theater to find the censor; and he might be sure that between midnight and eight o'clock in the morning he could never see him, because a censor must sleep some time, and he would not allow anybody to disturb him between those hours, which for the American morning newspapers were the vital hours.

It happened that M. Lamscott, the censor of foreign despatches, was a very reasonable man. But he was a subordinate of a subordinate in the Ministry of the Interior. He was a conscientious, well-meaning person, disposed to do all that he could for us, and he personally was opposed to the censorship; but he could not pass a telegram that would be the subject of criticism by a Minister or important subordinate in any department of the Government, or by any member of the royal family. And since he was liable to be criticized for anything he might do, his department became a bureau of suppression rather than of censorship. He could take no chances. Certain rules had been adopted, and one of them provided that no mention whatever of a member of the royal family should appear in a despatch after the censor had passed upon it. If, by any chance, the correspondent succeeded in securing information and writing it in such fashion that it would pass the censorship, he drove two miles to the telegraph bureau and paid cash at commercial rates for his despatch. It then must wait till all Government and commercial business had been cleared from the wires.

Under such a rule, it must be obvious that the business of sending despatches from Russia was impracticable. The mere matter of paying cash, which at first sight would not seem a great hardship, meant that, in the event of some great happening requiring a despatch of length, the correspondent must carry with him several hundred rubles. He could not trust a Russian servant

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with this, but must go in person. There are over two hundred holidays in Russia every year, when the banks are closed and cash is not obtainable. The obstacle presented by that fact, therefore, was a very serious one.

Such were the conditions. After my audience with M. Plehve, the case seemed nearly hopeless, and I was delaying my departure from Russia only until I should receive a definite statement that nothing could be done, when the following Sunday morning the American ambassador called me on the telephone and said that I was to be commanded to an audience with the Emperor. The ambassador thought it best to keep in touch with him, since I was liable to be summoned at any moment. During the day I received the command to an audience on Monday.

After seeing M. Plehve I had a talk with the censor. M. Lamscott spoke English perfectly. He said that if his opinion were asked respecting the censorship, he would be very glad to say that he disapproved of the whole thing; but he was not at liberty to volunteer his advice. I also, by suggestion of M. Plehve, had a conference with M. Dournovo, his chief subordinate, the Minister of Telegraphs. Dournovo is an old sailor, a hale, rough-and-ready type of man. He had spent some time in San Francisco while in command of a Russian vessel, spoke English perfectly, and proved a most progressive spirit. He was ready to do anything that he could, and assured me that by adopting a certain route *via* Libau he would be able to give our despatches the desired precedence. He said he would also issue orders to the trans-Siberian lines, so that we could rest assured that our despatches would not take more than an hour from Port Arthur or Vladivostok to New York.

We were making progress. We had succeeded in securing rapidity of transmission, a satisfactory press rate, and an arrangement to make a charge account, so that it would not be necessary to pay cash. Meanwhile successful efforts had been making for the appointment of

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CLARK HOWELL

MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT BOARD OF EDITORS

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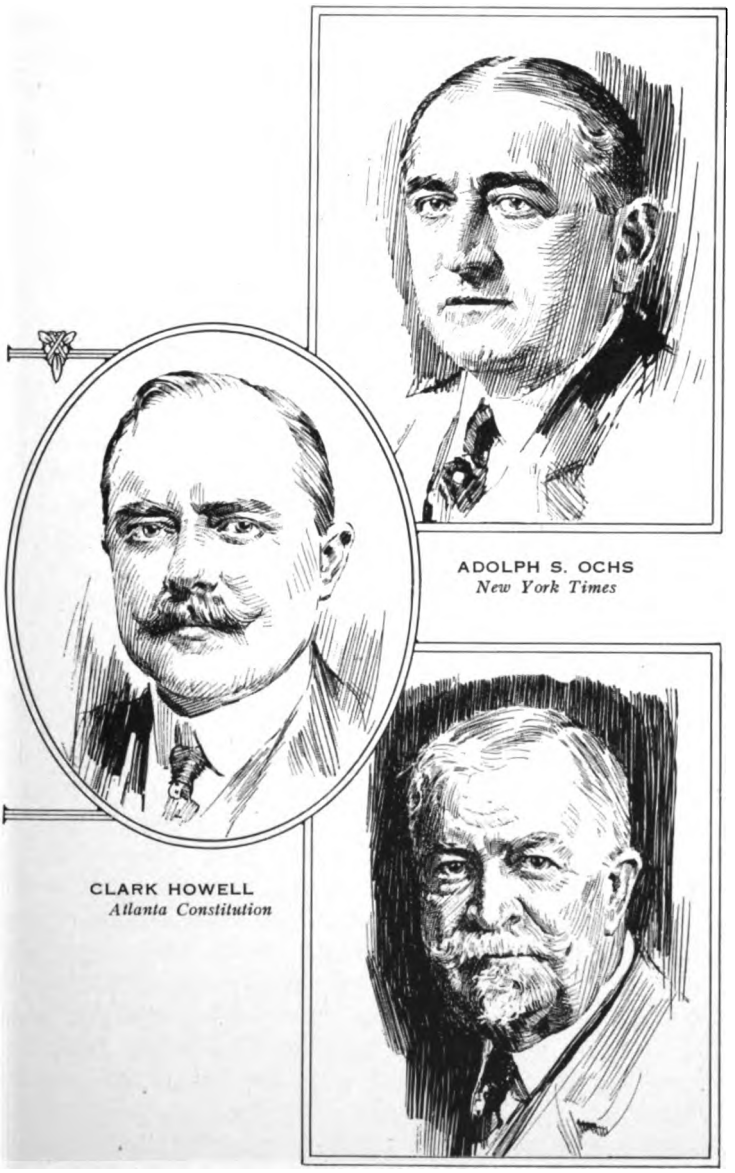
After seeing Mr Pelzer I had a talk with the censor. Mr Lemoos was very much bewildered. He said that if his orders were as to permit the censorship, he would be very glad to say that he disapproved of the whole thing; but he was not at liberty to volunteer his advice. Later, he suggested that I should have a conference with Mr Pourtalès, Minister of Telegraphs. Pourtalès was a tall, rather rough and ready type of man. He had come to the front in San Francisco, which is not unlike that of a Russian vessel, spoke English fluently, and showed a most progressive spirit. He was ready to do anything that he could and assured me that by adopting a certain route in Siberia he would be able to give our cables the desired protection. He said he would have to refer to the Emperor, so that we could not be assured that our cables would not take more than a year from Port
to New York



ADOLPH S. OCHS
New York Times

CLARK HOWELL
Atlanta Constitution

CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK
Hartford Courant

MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT BOARD OF DIRECTORS—II

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an official in each ministerial department who would always receive our correspondent and aid him in his search for information if it fell within the jurisdiction of his department. General Kuropatkin, who at that time was Minister of War, Admiral Avelan, head of the navy department, and M. Pleske, the Minister of Finance, each appointed such a man. Finally I was commanded to the audience with the Emperor.

A private audience with the Emperor of Russia in the Winter Palace is an honor which must impress one. I was notified upon the formal card of command what costume I was expected to wear—American evening dress, which, in the court language of Europe, is known as "gala." garb. At half-past three on the afternoon of February 1, I presented myself. A servant removed the ever-present overshoes and overcoat, and a curious functionary in red court livery, with long white stockings and a red tam-o'-shanter cap from which streamed a large white plume, indicated by pantomime that I was to follow him. We ascended a grand staircase and began an interminable march through a labyrinth of wide halls and corridors. A host of attendants in gaudy apparel, scattered along the way, rose as we approached and deferentially saluted. In one wide hall sat a company of guards, who clapped silver helmets on their heads, rose, and presented arms as we passed.

I was shown into an anteroom, where the Grand Duke André awaited me. He introduced himself and chatted most agreeably about American affairs, until a door opened and I was ushered into the presence of His Imperial Majesty. The room was evidently a library. It contained well-filled bookshelves, a large work-table, and an American roller-top desk. Without ceremony and in the simplest fashion the Emperor fell to a consideration of the subject of my visit. He was dressed in the fatigue uniform of the Russian navy—braided white jacket and blue trousers. The interview lasted about an hour.

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I represented to His Majesty the existing conditions, and told him of the difficulties which we encountered, and the desire on the part of his ambassador at Washington that Americans should see Russia with their own eyes, and that news should not take on an English color by reason of our receiving it from London. I said that we felt a large sense of responsibility. Every despatch of The Associated Press was read by one-half the population of the United States. I added that Russia and the United States were either to grow closer and closer or they were to grow apart, and we were anxious to do whatever we properly might to cement the cordial relations that had existed for a hundred years.

His Majesty replied: "I, too, feel my responsibility. Russia and the United States are young, developing countries, and there is not a point at which they should be at issue. I am most anxious that the cordial relations shall not only continue, but grow."

When assured, in response to an inquiry, that the Emperor desired me to speak frankly, I said: "We come here as friends, and it is my desire that our representatives here shall treat Russia as a friend; but it is the very essence of the proposed plan that we be free to tell the truth. We cannot be the mouthpiece of Russia, we cannot plead her cause, except in so far as telling the truth in a friendly spirit will do it."

"That is all we desire," His Majesty replied, "and all we could ask of you." He requested me to recount the specific things I had in mind.

I told the Emperor that the question of rate and speed of transmission had fortunately been settled by his Ministers, and that the two questions I desired to present to him were those of an open door in all the departments, that we might secure the news, and the removal of the censorship. "It seems to me, Your Majesty," I said, "that the censorship is not only valueless from your own point of view, but works a positive harm. A wall has been built up around the country, and the fact that no

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correspondent for a foreign paper can live and work here has resulted in a traffic in false Russian news that is most hurtful.

"To-day there are newspaper men in Vienna, Berlin, and London who make a living by peddling out the news of Russia, and it is usually false. If we were free to tell the truth in Russia, as we are in other countries, no self-respecting newspaper in the world would print a despatch from Vienna respecting the internal affairs of Russia, because the editor would know that, if the thing were true, it would come from Russia direct. All you do now is to drive a correspondent to send his despatches across the German border. I am able to write anything I choose in Russia, and send it by messenger to Wirballen, across the German border, and it will go from there without change. You are powerless to prevent my sending these despatches, and all you do is to anger the correspondent and make him an enemy, and delay his despatches, robbing the Russian telegraph lines of a revenue they should receive. So it occurs to me that the censorship is inefficient; that it is a censorship which does not censor, but annoys."

I went over the common experiences of all newspaper men who had been in Russia, and the Emperor agreed that the existing plan was not only valueless, but hurtful. He said that if I could stay in St. Petersburg a week he would undertake to do all that I desired. I asked if it would be of service to make a memorandum of the things I had said to him. He replied that he would be very glad to receive such a memorandum, as it would help him to speak intelligently with his Ministers. We then talked about the negotiations with Japan and of the internal affairs of Russia. He said over and over again that there must be no war, that he did not believe there would be one, and that he was going as far as self-respect would permit him in the way of meeting the Japanese in the matter of their differences.

I was then given my leave by His Majesty, who

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courteously suggested that he should see me at the court ball which was to take place that evening. Three or four hours later I attended the ball, and he came to me and reopened the conversation in the presence of the American ambassador, and was good enough to say to Mr. McCormick that he had had a very interesting afternoon.

During the conversation with the Emperor, to illustrate the existing difficulties, I remarked that on the preceding Sunday we had received a cable message from our New York office to the effect that a very sensational despatch had been printed throughout the United States, purporting to come from Moscow, and alleging that, during the progress of certain army manœuvers under the direction of the Grand Duke Sergius (assassinated February 17, 1905), a large body of troops had been ordered to cross a bridge over the Moscow River, and, by a blunder, another order had been given at the same time to blow up the bridge, and thus a thousand soldiers had been killed. This despatch came to us on Sunday evening, with the request that we find out whether it was true. There was no way to ascertain. Nobody could get any information from the War Department; nobody would be admitted to ask such a question; and I told the Emperor the chances were that, in the ordinary course of things, this would happen: three or four weeks later the false despatch would be sent back by post from the Russian legation at Washington, and there would be a request made on the part of the Russian Government that it be denied, because there was not a word of truth in it; but the denial would go out a month or six weeks after the statement, and no newspaper would print it, because interest in the story had died out. Thus nobody would see the denial.

It happened in this case that we knew a man in St. Petersburg who had been in Moscow on the day mentioned, and when he saw the telegram he said at once: "I know all about that story. Two years ago the

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Grand Duke Sergius, at some manœuvers, did order some troops to cross a bridge, and a section of it was blown up and *one* man was killed." I said to His Majesty, "In this instance we were able to correct the falsehood; but it is most important that a correction of this sort should follow the falsehood at the earliest moment, while the thing is still warm in the public mind."

He said he recognized the wisdom of that, and he also recognized that obviously, if our service was to be of any value to us whatever, the departments must be open to us and make answer to questions, giving the facts.

Later in the evening Count Lamsdorff came up and expressed his gratification at the interview I had had with the Emperor. He said that the Emperor had told him of it, and Count Lamsdorff added, "I think it of great value to Russia, and I want to thank you for having told the truth to His Majesty, which he hears all too rarely."

While chatting with the Emperor at the ball I asked how I should transmit the memorandum referred to in the afternoon's interview, and he told me to send it through Baron de Fréedericksz, Minister of the Palace.

The next day I prepared the memorandum for transmission, and then it occurred to me that it would be befitting the dignity of the imperial office if it were neatly printed, and I set out to find a printer who could do it in English. I drove to the Crédit Lyonnais, and called on the manager, whom I knew, and asked him if there was a printing-office in St. Petersburg where English could be printed. He gave me a card to the manager of a very large establishment located in the outskirts of the city.

The manager was a kindly old German who spoke French. I told him what was wanted, and he said he would be delighted to do anything for an American: he had a son, a railway engineer, at Muskegon, Michigan. He said he had no compositors who understood English,

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but he had the Latin type, and, as the copy was typewritten, his printers could pick it out letter by letter and set it up, and then I could revise the proof and put it in shape. He asked me when it was needed. I replied that I must have it by noon of the following day. He said that would involve night work, but he would be very glad indeed to keep on a couple of printers to set it up.

As I was about to leave he glanced at the manuscript and said, with a startled look, "This has not been censored."

"No," I replied, "it has not been censored."

"Then," he said, "it must be censored; there is a fine of five hundred rubles and three months in jail for setting one word that does not bear the censor's stamp. I should not dare, as much as I should like to accommodate you, to put myself in jeopardy. But," he added, "you will have no trouble with it. It is now six o'clock. I will have the engineer stay and keep the lights burning, and have the two printers go out to dinner, and you can go and have it censored, in the mean time, very much more quickly than I can. Return here by eight o'clock, and we can work on it all night, if necessary."

I drove at once to M. Lamscott, he being the censor who had passed upon our despatches, and presented the case to him. His countenance fell at once.

"I hope you will believe that, if it were in my power to help you, I would do so," he said; "but, unfortunately, my function is to censor foreign despatches only, and I have no power to censor job-work. That falls within an entirely different department, and my stamp would not be of any use to you whatever. But I may say to you, as a friend, that it is hopeless. If Minister Plehve, in whose department this falls, sought to have a document like this censored, it would take him a week to have it go through the red tape which would be necessary. And the very thing which makes you think that this should be easy to censor makes it the most

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difficult thing in the world, because no censor would dare to affix his stamp to a paper which is in the nature of a petition to the sovereign until it had passed step by step through all the gradations of office up to His Majesty himself, and he had signified a willingness to receive it. Then it would have to come back through all the gradations to the censor again; and it would be two or three weeks before you would get the document in shape to print it."

I laughed, and said a petition to remove the censorship required so much censoring that it was actually amusing.

He replied, "The only thing you can do is to write it."

So I took it to the American embassy, had it engrossed, and transmitted it to the Emperor, and then waited for some word from him.

I received an invitation to the second ball, which the Emperor had assured me would be a much more agreeable function than the first, because, instead of thirty-three hundred people, there would be only six hundred present. This second ball was to occur a week later.

On Wednesday I transmitted the memorandum to His Majesty. On Thursday evening, at a reception, I encountered Minister Plehve. He said he knew of my audience with the Emperor and had seen the memorandum which I had left with him; and while he was desirous of doing everything in his power, I must remember that he was responsible for the internal order of Russia, and he could not bring himself to believe that a step of this kind was wise. It was almost revolutionary in its character, and he wanted to know whether there could not be something in the nature of a compromise effected. "All your other requests have been provided for," he said; "the only question that remains is the censorship, and I want to know if you would not be content with an arrangement by which I should appoint a bureau of censors at the central telegraph office and keep them on duty night and day, with instructions to give you the largest possible latitude. I can assure you there would

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be virtually nothing but a censorship in form so far as you are concerned."

I replied that I was sorry that I could not see my way clear to do the thing he asked. "I am not here, Your Excellency," I added, "to advise you as to your duties. That is a question which you must determine for yourself. Neither am I here to say that I think the suggestion you make an unwise one. I do not know. It may not be wise for you to remove the censorship. That is a question which I am not called on to discuss. I am here at the instance of the Russian Government, because it desired me to come. It desired us to look at Russia through our own eyes. Obviously we cannot do that unless we are absolutely free. Anything less than freedom in the matter would mean that we should be looking at Russia, not through our eyes, but through your eyes. So, without the slightest feeling in the matter, if you do not see your way clear, I shall take myself out of Russia, and we shall go on as we have done for a hundred years—taking our Russian news from London."

"Oh no," said he in a startled tone; "that must not be. I would not have you understand me as saying that your wishes will not be met. I believe His Majesty has given you assurances on the point, and of course it is in his hands, and he will do whatever he thinks best about it."

The Minister then suddenly saw, in another part of the room, a lady to whom he desired to speak, and we parted. Later in the evening he drew close to my side and asked in a whisper if I had heard the news.

"What news?" I asked. It was at a moment when the whole world was waiting breathless for Russia's last reply to Japan.

"The reply to Japan went forward to-night," he replied; "and I thought you might want to know it."

"Indeed," I said; "and when?"

"At seven o'clock."

He then quietly drew away, and I sought out our

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correspondent and communicated the fact to him. Going to the censor, he had his despatch censored and forwarded it. About an hour later, after twelve o'clock, the French Minister said to me, "You know the news?"

I regarded Minister Plehve's information as confidential and asked, "What news?"

"I think you know very well, because Plehve told you," he answered.

"Yes," I said; "the answer has gone to Japan."

"No, not to Japan," he replied; "but to Alexieff, and it will not reach Baron de Rosen, the Russian Minister at Tokio, until Saturday or Monday."

I was naturally startled, because the despatch which had been sent to New York had reported that the answer had gone to Japan. Twelve o'clock had come and gone, there was no opportunity to secure a censored correction, and an inaccurate despatch was certain to be printed in all the American papers the following morning, and I was apparently powerless to prevent it.

Mr. Kurino, the Japanese Minister, was anxious to know the news. I did not feel at liberty to communicate it to him, and he turned away, saying, "Well, I think this is a very unpleasant place for me, and I shall take my departure." So he and his wife left me to make their adieus to the hostess.

I also took my leave and drove at once to the telegraph office. Now, they did not censor private messages. I entered the telegraph bureau and wrote this despatch:

Walter Neef, 40 Evelyn Gardens, London:

Howard was slightly in error in his telegram to-night. The document has been telegraphed to the gentleman in charge in the East, and will reach its destination Saturday or Monday.

I signed my name and handed in the message, which was delivered promptly in London to Mr. Neef, the chief of our London office, who at once sent a correction to

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the United States, and the despatch appeared in proper form in the American papers.

Plehve was a strong, forceful, and, I believe, sincere man—one who felt that all the repressive measures he had adopted were necessary. He was not a reactionary in the fullest sense. He was a progressive man, but his methods were obviously wrong. He felt that "if the lines were loosed the horses would run away." I did not gain the impression that he was an intriguer or that he was sinister in his methods. He seemed direct, sincere, conscientious. He belonged to the number who believe that the greatest good can come to Russia by easy stages and by repressive measures. He did not believe in the press; he did not believe that the best interests of the people were to be served by education: but he did believe in the Autocracy, with all that it implies. The impression left on my mind was that he was afraid the censorship would be abolished over his head, and he wanted to make terms less dangerous from his point of view.

I received a telegram asking me to go to Berlin and dine at the American ambassador's house, the Kaiser to be present. This was to occur on the night of the 11th of February, and through the good offices of the American ambassador (I having said I would remain in St. Petersburg to await His Majesty's pleasure) I asked leave to go to Berlin, and it was granted.

On my return I was in a dilemma. The war with Japan was on. I had given my word to the Emperor that I would await his pleasure, but I was aware that his mind and heart were full of the disasters that had befallen the Russian arms in the East, and that he probably had had no time to give thought to my mission. There was a fair prospect of waiting indefinitely and without result. Before going to Russia, I had been warned by a number of friends, in sympathetic tones, that my visit would be a failure; that it was well enough to go to St. Petersburg in order to learn the conditions;

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that the journey would probably be worth the trouble involved; but that any effort to remove the censorship on foreign despatches would be sheer waste of time.

William T. Stead had gone to Russia a year before on the same mission, and had had the advantage of the personal friendship of Plehve. Stead was known as the most active pro-Russian journalist in the world. He had had a personal audience with the Czar at his country place in Livadia, and had signally failed. I felt therefore that these prophecies of evil were likely to be fulfilled, and I determined to leave as soon as I could do so with propriety.

I asked Ambassador McCormick if he would call on Count Lamsdorff and say frankly to him that I knew how occupied the attention of all the officials was, and I thought it perhaps an inopportune time to pursue the matter, and would, therefore, if agreeable, take my leave. Mr. McCormick called at the Foreign Office that afternoon on some official business, and, before leaving, told Count Lamsdorff of my predicament, and asked his advice.

Count Lamsdorff replied in a tone of surprise, "The thing is done."

"I do not follow you," said Ambassador McCormick.

"Mr. Stone left a memorandum of his wishes with His Majesty, did he not?" said Count Lamsdorff. "Well, the Emperor wrote 'Approved' on the corner of the memorandum, and all will be done. There may be a slight delay incident to working out the details, but it will be done."

"Would it not be well," asked Mr. McCormick, "for Mr. Stone to call on Minister Plehve and talk the matter over with him as to the details?"

"There is nothing to say," said Count Lamsdorff; "it is finished. Mr. Stone has no occasion to see Plehve or any one else. It will all be done as speedily as possible."

Mr. McCormick reported this conversation to me, and

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I determined at once to depart, leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the authorities. I wrote, and despatched by hand, letters thanking Count Lamsdorff and Minister Plehve for their courtesy and for what they had done, and indicating my purpose to leave by the Vienna express on the following Thursday. Count Lamsdorff made a parting call, and Plehve sent his card. I left St. Petersburg on Thursday evening.

On my arrival in Vienna I received the following from Mr. Thompson, chief of our St. Petersburg office:

> I know you will be gratified to learn that on my return to the office from the station after bidding you adieu, and before your feet left the soil of St. Petersburg, we were served with notice that the censorship was abolished so far as we were concerned. But Count Lamsdorff feels that it is a mistake, and that we shall be charged with having made a bargain, and any kindly thing we may say of Russia will be misconstrued. He thinks it would be much wiser if the censorship were abolished as to all foreign correspondents and bureaus, and desires your influence to that end.

I wired back at once that I fully agreed with Count Lamsdorff's views, and certainly hoped that it would be abolished as to the correspondents of the English, French, and German press at once; and forty-eight hours after the restriction was removed from The Associated Press, it was removed from everybody.

Since my departure from St. Petersburg, not only our correspondents, but all foreign correspondents, have been as free to write and send matter from any part of Russia, except in the territory covered by the war, as from any other country in the world. We have found ourselves able to present a daily picture of life in Russia that has been most interesting and edifying, and even in the war district the Russian authorities have given the largest possible latitude to our correspondents. They have turned over to us in St. Petersburg, daily, without mutilation, the official reports made to the Emperor and to the War Department, and the world had been astonished by the frank character of the despatches coming from

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Russia. Ninety per cent. of the real news concerning the war has come in bulletin first from St. Petersburg, and later in detail from the field; and there has been no attempt on the part of the Government to influence the despatches, or even to minimize their disasters, when talking officially to our correspondents. The doors of all the Ministries have been opened to correspondents, who make daily visits to the War, Navy, Foreign, and Interior offices, and are given the news with as much freedom as in Washington.

Until Port Arthur was invested, we found that we were able to receive despatches with extraordinary speed. On one occasion a despatch sent from New York to Port Arthur requiring a reply occupied for transmission and reply two hours and forty-five minutes; and on the occasion of the birth of the son of the Emperor at Peterhof, twenty-eight miles from St. Petersburg, we received the despatch announcing the fact in exactly forty-three minutes after its occurrence.

As a consequence of these arrangements, The Associated Press has been able to usurp in a large measure the functions of the diplomat, and I think it makes for universal peace in a remarkable way. Instead of public questions now passing through the long and tedious methods of diplomacy as formerly, the story is told with authority by The Associated Press. The point of view of a country is presented no longer by diplomatic communication, but in the despatches of The Associated Press.

A striking instance of this occurred some months ago, when a Japanese war-vessel went into the neutral harbor of Chifu and captured the *Rychitelni*, a Russian gunboat which had sought an asylum there. Our correspondent was on the *Rychitelni* when the Japanese lieutenant and a detachment arrived, and was a personal witness of the occurrence. His story appeared throughout the civilized world, and was made the subject of representations by Russia, through her ally, France. In less than a week the Japanese Government prepared a careful de-

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fense of their action and handed it to Mr. Egan, our correspondent in Tokio, with a request that he send it throughout the world. It was done, and it closed the incident. They made no effort, and distinctly said that they would make none, to send an official answer to Russia on the subject through the ordinary channels of diplomacy, but chose rather to send it through the agency of The Associated Press.

The authorities of the Foreign Offices of the different European Governments recognize the independence of The Associated Press, and have virtually made choice of it as a forum for the discussion of current questions of international interest. They recognize that a telegram of The Associated Press, published, as it is, throughout the world, unless immediately explained, may arouse a public sentiment that can never be met by the ordinary methods of diplomacy. They recognize that in the end it is the high court of Public Opinion that must settle international questions, and not the immediate determination of the Foreign Office of any country.

V

ITS WORK IN WAR*

THE Associated Press has reported seven wars in the last twelve years; and, while all of them were prosecuted in countries allotted by our general agreements to the foreign agencies, it has been admittedly wise to send American newspaper men adequately to cover them in almost every case. The first of these wars, the Brazilian Revolution, occurred in 1893. President Peixoto had vetoed a bill making it impossible for the Vice-President to succeed to the Chief Magistracy, and one of the periodical South American insurrections fol-

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lowed. The Agence Havas, our ally, attempted to report the affair; but the service was so insufficient that Associated Press men were despatched to the field of operations. There was a rigorous press censorship throughout the disturbed area, but it was successfully evaded by the use of a code system which wholly misled the authorities. A number of apparently inoffensive telegrams addressed to New York commission houses, and relating to the condition of the coffee crop and the coffee market, were rendered in the home office of the Association into very accurate and interesting despatches detailing the progress of the war.

When a like revolt broke out in Nicaragua, and all foreign telegrams were interdicted, President Zelaya was appealed to, and replied with personally signed telegrams relating the causes of the war and reporting its progress. They were doubtless partizan, and were perhaps inaccurate, but they were the best to be had.

REPORTING THE WAR WITH SPAIN

It was in the Cuban and Spanish wars, however, that The Associated Press achieved its first notable success. Although by the terms of the existing compact the field of operations, both in the Caribbean Sea and in the Philippines, was territory which the French agency had engaged to cover, early preparations were made for an American service. In the Cuban insurrection, special correspondents were stationed at various points of interest and did creditable work. Neither of the contestants desired publicity, and following midnight marches and early morning raids, and transmitting news to New York by surreptitious means, were efforts which taxed the courage and ingenuity of the best trained men. When General Weyler was in command at Havana, he forbade all newspaper work. Nevertheless, thrilling accounts of the horrors attendant upon his reconcentrado system were smuggled out by Associated Press men at

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imminent risk of being shot for their pains. It was an Associated Press story of the destruction of the United States battle-ship *Maine* in Havana harbor that was published exclusively throughout the world the morning after that unhappy event.

But the work of these correspondents ended when the United States and Spain joined issue. A new plan of campaign was then organized. The situation presented serious problems. Land battles had been reported many times. But this must be a naval contest, and prompt newspaper reports of battles upon the high seas were unheard of. The outlook was made more unpromising when all the ocean cables touching Cuba were cut. But the Federal Government was reasonable and lent its aid. A capable reporter was installed upon the flag-ship of each of the squadrons, and both Sampson and Schley gave them every possible facility to enable them to do their work. A number of fast sea-going despatch-boats were chartered and sent to the Cuban coast. The whole service was placed in charge of my assistant, Colonel Diehl, who managed it wisely and succeeded in making a new record in the business of war reporting. A splendid staff of correspondents was landed at Santiago with General Shafter's army, and their copy, as well as that of the men on the flag-ships, was carried by the despatch-boats to the cable stations on the Jamaican or Haitian coast.

When Hobson sank the *Merrimac* at the mouth of Santiago Harbor, four men wrote a composite story which was so skilfully interwoven that the reader thought it all the work of a single pen. In the actions before Santiago, the Associated Press men showed great courage and transmitted reports which, for descriptive power, accuracy, and comprehensiveness, have never been surpassed. The story of the fateful encounter with Cervera's fleet cost, for cable tolls alone, over $8,000, and the total expenditures for reporting the war exceeded $300,000.

It was dangerous work. Menaced by innumerable

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A. C. WE[illegible]
Druid, Iowa

W. H. COWLES
[illegible] *Supervisor*

MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.

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A. C. WEISS
Duluth Herald

V. S. McCLATCHY
Sacramento Bee

W. H. COWLES
Spokane Spokesman-Review

MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT BOARD OF DIRECTORS—III

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forms of tropical disease, exposed to death on the firing-line as often as any trooper, braving the horrors of a Caribbean hurricane in a wretched little vessel, or taking the chance of being sunk at any moment by either friend or foe, our men performed a gallant service; and, happily, all came out alive. It was a cruel fate that compelled them to write anonymously, while much less capable men were written into temporary notoriety by the newspapers which employed them as "specials." The public never heard of these Associated Press men, but in newspaper offices and in army and navy circles they have always been recognized as the real historians of the war. Poor Lyman, one of the most conscientious of them, contracted a disease from which he afterward died. "Ned" Johnstone and "Nat" Wright are now managing the Cleveland *Leader*. Beach, Nelson, and Copp are trusted representatives in Western offices of The Associated Press. Collins is Reuter's manager for the Chinese Empire, but temporarily serving at General Kuroki's headquarters. Thompson and Mitchell are directing the bureau of The Associated Press at St. Petersburg. Roberts is chief of the Berlin office. Goode, who served on Sampson's flag-ship, was, until recently, attached to the London bureau. Graham, who was with Schley, was, before this year, the Associated Press correspondent at Albany. It was Thompson who wrote the story of the dramatic surrender of Cuba, by the United States, to self-government, and by a unanimous and voluntary act of Congress his account was made part of the *Congressional Record*.

In the campaign for the relief of the legations at Peking the organization won fresh laurels. Mr. Collins was despatched from the Manila bureau, and Messrs. Kloeber and Egan were sent from New York *via* San Francisco. The Pacific cable had not been laid, and the messages were carried by Chinese runners from the army headquarters before Peking to Tientsin, and cabled thence, *via* Chefoo and Shanghai, the Indian Ocean and the Red

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Sea, to London, and across the Atlantic Ocean to New York. Even following this tortuous line, they came, as a rule, a day ahead of the special telegrams to the London papers.

There were numerous occasions, during the progress of the Boer War and of the contests in Venezuela, in which brilliant exhibitions of courage and enterprise were presented; but it is in the Russo-Japanese struggle that the service has reached its highest level of excellence.

THE QUALITIES NEEDED IN A WAR CORRESPONDENT

In reporting a war, the first and most important question naturally arises over the selection of correspondents. The number of men qualified by nature and education for such a task is very limited. Your war correspondent must be physically capable of withstanding the hardships of the field. He must be also as courageous as any soldier. Indeed, his lot is an even harder one, because he must put himself in places of the greatest danger without the patriotic fervor, the touch of the comrade's elbow, or the possession of a rifle, all of which are large factors in making up a trooper's bravery. He must be capable of describing what he sees accurately and graphically. He must have as large a perspective as the commanding general, if he seeks to tell the whole story of the battle.

But he may have all of these primal requisites and still prove a failure. He must be temperamentally a diplomat and capable of ingratiating himself into the sympathetic and helpful friendship of those with whom he comes in contact. He may be an ideal representative at the headquarters of an American general, but wholly incapable of serving satisfactorily with the Russians or the Japanese. As an illustration, all of our men on the Russian side speak either Russian or French. If they did not, they would be useless. At least three of them are long-time personal friends of General Kuropatkin.

Above all, the war correspondent must possess in marked degree that familiarity with events and affairs

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which will command the confidence of those in power about him. His influence often extends beyond his primary mission of reporting, and strays into the field of international diplomacy. For instance, during the Boxer rebellion in China, one of the Associated Press correspondents was sought out and consulted by the commander of one power represented in the allied expedition as to his proper attitude toward the military representative of another power whose actions were causing grave concern in that delicate hour.

DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSMITTING DESPATCHES

But when the battle has been fought, and the correspondent, at great hazard, has written his story, then his troubles have only fairly begun. He must "pass the censor." This may be easy or it may be most difficult. Much depends upon the character and intelligence of the censor. It is only fair to say that we have found the Russians very reasonable. They have shown far more wisdom than did the American censors during the Spanish War.

Next, the messages must be transmitted. The correspondent must be "first at the wire," or his work may all come to naught. Here, again, he must exercise tact; otherwise a petty telegraph official, who is often a very monarch in his field, may spoil everything. And all along the long line—for the telegram is retransmitted half a dozen times before it reaches San Francisco or New York—the cable officials must be friendly and painstaking and intelligent, or the news will fail to reach its destination promptly and in the form in which it was sent. Delays in transmission are inevitable, and it speaks volumes for the efficiency of modern telegraphy that they are so infrequent. Russian operators, Danish operators, Japanese operators, French operators—all handle and transmit these messages, often in bad chirography, in a language which they do not understand, and they seldom make a serious mistake.

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But our troubles do not end with the receipt of the message; for, with all the care that has been observed by correspondents and telegraph officials, it does not often reach us in shape to go at once to the press. There is no "padding," but, for the sake of speed, the correspondents omit all unnecessary words, such as "and" and "the," and these are filled in at our receiving offices. The telegram is very carefully written out to convey the correspondent's precise meaning. In these receiving offices are all the war maps, English, French, Russian, German, Japanese, and libraries filled with books and documents that may prove of value in deciphering a message. Lists of Russian and Japanese officials and war-ships and army organizations, spelled correctly and sent over by mail from St. Petersburg and Tokio, are on file. There are complete sets of all directories of every important city in the world. But, more valuable than all else, there are carefully indexed scrap-books containing every cable message received by The Associated Press during the last twenty years. These serve to illuminate every new event with the antecedent and the collateral history.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS OUTDONE IN THE PRESENT WAR

Long before the troubles between Russia and Japan had reached a critical stage, I ordered Mr. Egan, then of our New York office, a gentleman of wide experience and rare ability, to Tokio to establish an independent bureau. He co-operated with Mr. Collins, who had left our service to take supervision of Reuter's Chinese service. I went to St. Petersburg, and was there when diplomatic relations with Japan were broken off and the war began. I engaged a number of Russian correspondents, who set out at once for the Far East.

One of them, Mr. Kravchenko, was received in private audience by the Emperor before his departure. I cabled directions to my assistant in charge at New York, and he sent a corps of men to Tokio to act under Mr.

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Egan's orders. Returning from Russia, I spent a few days in London, and arranged with Baron de Reuter for a joint service in reporting the war. He had men scattered throughout Japan, Korea, and China who were instructed to serve under the leadership of Messrs. Egan and Collins. Thus the men of the two forces were so assigned as to cover the widest possible area, and the duplication of reports was avoided. It was also arranged that all telegrams from Japan, Korea, and China should be transmitted to The Associated Press at San Francisco by the Pacific cable, and they were forwarded thence to Europe by way of New York.

By this plan we were enabled to place correspondents at every point of possible interest, and their telegrams were transmitted much more rapidly and safely than if sent by the long lines through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. The great newspapers of London and New York promptly engaged the ablest special correspondents available and sent them to the front. Among these were a number of war reporters of long experience and international fame. It soon became apparent, however, that no special service could successfully compete with the Reuter-Associated Press alliance. For months the special men were held in a courteous imprisonment at Tokio, while the Associated Press men at the Russian headquarters and at points of vantage in China and Korea were forwarding daily stories of surpassing interest at each step in the great contest. In the end, nearly all the special men were ordered home, and the work of reporting the war was left to the press agencies. An attempt by the London *Times* to utilize despatch-boats and wireless telegraphy proved a failure.

NOTABLE AND HEROIC PERFORMANCES

A number of our American and English representatives were welcomed at General Kuropatkin's headquarters to co-operate with our Russian correspondents.

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Among these were Mr. Middleton, former chief of the Associated Press bureau at Paris, who died of disease at Mukden. He was buried with military honors; but later, at my request, Viceroy Alexieff sent the remains through the lines, and a second burial took place at Chefoo.

Mr. Kravchenko waited three nights and three days on the bluffs about Port Arthur for the sea-fight which Admiral Makaroff was certain to have with Admiral Togo. He was rewarded by a sight of the tragic destruction of the *Petropavlovsk*, which he described in a telegram so graphic that, by common consent, it is held to be the best specimen of war reporting extant.

Mr. Danchenko, another Russian correspondent, went out of Port Arthur with the last railway train to leave the city before the closing of the stronghold by the Japanese, and described his experiences with a vividness which awakened the enthusiastic applause of newspaper men throughout the world.

Mr. Popoff, a young Russian known by his *nom de guerre* of "Kiriloff," was wounded at the battle of Liao-yang. He had completed on the battle-field a well-written pen-picture of the Japanese attack upon Stakelberg's corps, when a shot pierced his lung. He had ridden to a battery on the firing-line and found that, out of sixty gunners, forty were killed or wounded. The officers had eaten nothing for twenty-four hours, and Popoff shared with them such provisions as he had. "Prudence urged me to leave the spot, but I was fascinated," he wrote. And here the message ended. A Russian officer, who sent the telegram forward, added: "Kiriloff was shot through the right lung while standing by our battery, and fell back, suffering intense agony. . . . He insisted upon being placed on a horse, so that he could get to Liao-yang and file his despatch. It took him five hours and a half to cover the five miles to the telegraph station. When he reached there he was so exhausted and weak from loss of blood that we got him into the hospital, although against his protest. He asked

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me to complete his message for him. I am a soldier, and no writer; but I will say that after the awful fight to-day we were still holding our position. Japanese bodies bestrew all the heights. Their losses must have run into tens of thousands. We have lost five thousand thus far."

Mr. Frederick McCormick, one of the American representatives of The Associated Press with the Russians at Liao-yang, also had an interesting experience. He had been assured by the Russian general to whom he was attached that the city would not be evacuated for at least twenty-four hours, and he entered a hospital to give aid to some of the wounded. While there the Japanese entered the place, and when he emerged he found himself a prisoner. He was taken to General Oyama's headquarters and closely questioned concerning the Russian strength. He steadfastly refused to betray any of the secrets of those who had trusted him, and the following day General Oyama released him and sent him under escort to Niu-chuang, whence by a circuitous and dangerous route he was enabled to rejoin the Russian forces at Mukden.

On Mr. Middleton's death it was necessary to send a substitute, and Mr. Denny, who had been serving The Associated Press at Chefoo, was ordered to Mukden. He had been our correspondent at Vancouver, had edited one of the outgoing reports in the New York office, and had been chief of the Manila bureau. Quiet, modest, almost shy in his demeanor, he was ready to face any danger in the discharge of duty. To reach General Kuropatkin's headquarters, he traveled in a Chinese cart through a territory infested by Manchurian bandits, and narrowly escaped death.

HOW THE ASSOCIATED PRESS AT PORT ARTHUR BEAT THE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

Mr. Hagerty, from the Chicago office of The Associated Press, succeeded Mr. Denny at Chefoo. He was at the

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nearest cable station to Port Arthur. He organized a corps of Chinese junkmen, who ran the blockade and reported to him. There was sharp competition with a number of special correspondents of London newspapers, and he put in service every available dock-laborer in the port. On the arrival of a boat, day or night, he was notified by his uncouth assistants, and thus enabled to report every story that came out of the beleaguered city. Two Associated Press men in Port Arthur sent messages to him whenever possible.

Mr. Richmond Smith was detailed to accompany the besieging Japanese army. He was not permitted to report daily, but was given every facility for observing the movements, and finally was permitted to charter a despatch-boat specially privileged to convey him to Chefoo, whence he transmitted a telegram of over five thousand words, which was the first authentic report from a newspaper eye-witness covering the operations.

On the second day of last November Mr. Smith was told by the Japanese authorities that he might send from Chefoo his cable story of all that had happened from the beginning until October 29, inclusive. A boat, the *Genbu Maru*, was at his disposal for the journey, and was lying in the adjacent harbor of Shao-ping-tao. Smith at once set out. He rode to the Japanese press headquarters, had his message censored, and then went forward to the port. It was no easy ride, the twenty-six miles which intervened. The roads ran up and down the slopes of almost impassable mountains, and were in horrible condition. He arrived at Shao-ping-tao about ten o'clock at night, and found the *Genbu Maru* at anchor in the roadstead. He had been ordered to report to the naval officer in command of the harbor. He went aboard the commander's ship, and was astounded when that official politely but firmly notified him that under no circumstances could he or his despatch-boat leave before daybreak. This was indeed a blow, because Smith had private information that the Japanese, with

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their usual diplomacy, had given all the other correspondents like permission to send messages; and these correspondents had set out for the telegraph station at Yinkow, each believing himself specially favored. He was heart-broken. The commander took pity upon him, and showed him his instructions, which stated definitely that the *Genbu Maru* might sail after the fall of Port Arthur and not before. "These instructions can be changed only by an appeal to the rear-admiral at Shao-ping-tao and the admiral of the fleet," he said.

This meant a delay of several days. The commander would not insist upon the letter of his instructions, as he could see from Smith's message that it was properly censored, and he would allow the ship to go at daylight. But this concession meant nothing. The other correspondents would be at Yinkow, and Smith would be beaten. Then, in a dramatic attitude, he took his precious telegram and held it over the blazing fire in the cabin, and said that if he could not sail until daybreak he would burn his message, and the important objects which the Japanese War and Navy departments had sought to attain would never be accomplished. This was too much, and the officer relented. He agreed that the *Genbu Maru* might go out to the guard-ship, and if the officer in command there would assume the responsibility of passing it, it might sail on to Chefoo. Fortunately, that commander shut his eyes, and Smith went his way. It turned out later that the extreme caution exercised was due to the fact that the roadstead was full of mines, which were invisible at night and might have destroyed Smith's boat at any moment. He reached his destination in safety, and, as it turned out, his rivals were delayed, and his message was printed in New York and London four days ahead of those sent from Yinkow. It was no mean tribute to The Associated Press and its representative that the Japanese authorities read his telegram, approved it, and then sent him alone to Chefoo, accepting his word of honor that he would not

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change it, or add to it, or disclose to any one the disposition of their troops or their plan of campaign.

Readers of American newspapers need not be told, however, that the best work of the war has been done fiat the capitals of the contending nations. At Tokio, very early in his service, Mr. Egan established a relation with the Government which was easily more intimate than that of any other journalist. His high sense of honor, his administrative ability, and his tact were appreciated, and soon won for him the confidence and esteem of the Japanese authorities. He was given the official reports from the generals in the field several hours ahead of any other correspondent, and his wishes in regard to the treatment accorded to Associated Press men at the front were respected in a remarkable manner. At St. Petersburg Mr. Thompson was given copies of the official telegrams by direct command of the Emperor, and was able to present a daily pen-picture of Russia which has won high praise from every intelligent observer.

TRAGIC EVENTS IN BULGARIA AND SERVIA

During the recent Macedonian outbreak trained war correspondents were stationed at Salonica and Monastir, and they were able to perfect relations with the insurgent leader, Boris Sarafoff, which enabled them not only to catch the spirit animating the struggling mountaineers, but in many cases personally to observe the operations. Secret agents were also appointed, and these transmitted messages by courier over the frontier and delivered them to the Associated Press representative at Sofia. Meanwhile, the Agence Turque at Constantinople presented the case from the point of view of the Turkish Government, although naturally with less detail and frequently with far less accuracy.

When the great tragedy occurred at Belgrade the first announcement of the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga was furnished by the *Cologne Gazette*.

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Instantly all of the forces of The Associated Press were set in motion. Not alone did the Servian agency augment its corps by the employment of additional local men, but Mr. Atter, chief of our Vienna bureau, hastened to the scene. Fortunately, Belgrade was separated from Austrian soil only by the Danube River; and although a rigid censorship was imposed within the limits of Servia, it was not difficult to send despatches to the Austrian town of Zimony, a mile distant, whence they were telegraphed promptly and without interference. But, startling as were the events at Belgrade, there were other points of equal interest. With the death of King Alexander came the end of the Obrenovitch line, and Peter Karageorgevitch, head of the rival house, was an exile at Geneva, Switzerland. Thither American correspondents were despatched at once to describe the king-to-be, his manner of life, his associates, and to talk with him of his plans. Another group was assigned to sketch the life of his brothers and sisters and other near relatives, then living in Paris. The opinions of the foreign offices at Paris, London, Berlin, and Rome concerning him were also ascertained and reported.

REPORTING AS A MEANS OF HUMAN PROGRESS

Such is the process by which The Associated Press is writing history. Now it is an exhaustive review of the causes leading up to a war; again it is a scene painted in high lights to illumine the march of the world's progress. Here it is the first announcement of the negotiation of a treaty; there it is a thrilling interview with a refugee from Port Arthur, depicting all of the horrors of a desperate and sanguinary campaign.

It seems hardly necessary to say that in all of this work The Associated Press is writing the real and enduring history of the world, and is not chronicling the trivial episodes, the scandals, or the chit-chat. And the

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search-light which it throws upon the world's happenings has a substantial moral value. The mere collection and distribution of news has an ethical worth. No great and lasting wrong can be inflicted upon the sons of men anywhere so long as this fierce blaze of publicity is beating upon the scene. For, in the end, the world must know, and when the world knows justice must be done. The most absolute and irresponsible authority must finally yield to the demands of a great public sentiment.

NO MONOPOLY IN NEWS

The assertion, often made, that The Associated Press is a monopoly rests upon the fact that its news service is available to a limited number only. There could be no pretense that it controls the information at the point of origin, or that it has any advantages or exclusive rights in respect to the manner of transmitting its news to those who publish it. At the point of origin, the news, in order that it be news at all, must be of such moment that every one may have it if he chooses. None of the events reported by The Associated Press is a secret at the point of origin. The destruction of the *Maine* in Havana harbor, and the eruption that overwhelmed St. Pierre, were known by everybody in Havana and Martinique, and the rates paid to cable companies for transmission to New York, or to the telegraph companies for the distribution of the news throughout the United States, are such as are open to any one. Any other association may gather, transmit, and distribute the news on equal terms. But "A," who is a member of The Associated Press, may receive and publish its news, while "B," who is not a member, may not. Does this make it a monopoly? If so, it is unlike any other monopoly. It is the essence of the charge against other alleged monopolies that they are able to control the output of certain products or to ship it over quasi-public routes of transportation at rates not open to their com-

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petitors, or that by reason of some unfair advantage which they enjoy they are able unduly to advance prices to the consumer. None of these objections lies against The Associated Press. What, then, is the allegation? It is this, that by reason of the magnitude of its business it is able to deliver news to its members cheaper than a rival is able to, and that it will not admit to its membership every one who applies.

The Supreme Court of Illinois, after mature deliberation, decided that news was a commodity of such high public need that any one dealing in it was charged with a public duty to furnish it to any other one demanding it and ready to pay the price. The Supreme Court of Missouri, in an equally well-considered opinion, held in effect that news-gathering was a personal service, and to say that a public duty to serve every one attached to the business was to say that any one—a lawyer, for instance—was obligated to give any information of which he was possessed to whomsoever might demand it.

Rivals of The Associated Press do exist, and do profess to furnish their members an equally valuable service. They have the same opportunity for securing the news at the points of origin, and are accorded precisely the same cable and telegraph tolls for its transmission. Their revenues are smaller, to be sure, and therefore their ability to cover the field is more restricted, their service less complete, and, naturally, since there are fewer to pay the bills, the cost to each is greater. But who, on reflection, can say that this fact constitutes The Associated Press an unlawful monopoly?

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SUPPLYING THE WORLD WITH NEWS*

AN ADDRESS

By Melville E. Stone

I HAVE had some doubt as to the precise propriety of my presence here to-night. This institution is given over to the technicalities of the Arts and Sciences. But, on reflection, I think I find some warrant for my intrusion. I am minded that you take your name from that great American, who was not only a notable diplomat, statesman, scientist, and philosopher, but was also, in his day, the master printer of the colonies. And in this room you have, as if ordered for the occasion, side by side, Franklin's original apparatus for the study of electricity, and the imposing-stone which he used in his printing-office. It is also worthy of mention that another printer who for many years was a valued member of the institution, Mr. William Swain, one of the founders of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, was an active co-worker with Professor Morse in developing telegraphy and in fitting that great invention to ministry in the business of news-gathering. So, in the words of Paul, I have "waxed confident by these bonds."

As you pick up your daily newspaper, issued to you for the smallest coin that is minted by the Government —filled as it is with a vast bulk of information gathered from every habitable spot on the globe—if you have anything like an inquisitive mind, your curiosity must

* Presented at the annual meeting of the Franklin Institute, held Wednesday, January 19, 1916. Reprinted in the *Franklin Institute Journal*, April, 1916.

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be aroused. It must interest you to know how all this so-called "news," good and indifferent, important and trivial, from near-by places and from the uttermost parts, is collected, transmitted, and delivered to you at so small cost. Well, this I shall strive to tell you: not in an oration, nor even in a speech, but in a quiet, fireside talk.

Also, it may gratify you to remember that this business of systematic and comprehensive news-gathering is an American enterprise. It originated here, and here it has reached its most perfect development. The work began in the early days of the last century. Our Revolutionary War had closed and the Federal Government had been successfully established. But great things were happening abroad. Bonaparte, after his unparalleled career of victory, had pushed his conquering squadrons over the continent, had invaded Russia, and was on his way to Moscow. The hour was one pregnant of great possibilities for our infant republic. It was natural that at such a moment there should be an avid call for news from Europe.

It was then that Samuel Topliff, of Boston, entered the field. He took charge of the news-books of the Exchange Coffee House and began a career as a news-gatherer which lasted over thirty years and which, for zeal and efficiency, has rarely been equaled. With a small boat he ran into Boston harbor on the arrival of a European vessel, interviewed the captain, and rushed back to record this latest information in his news-books at the Coffee House. Thither merchants, and later newspaper reporters, repaired, and thus the news was distributed. To hurry this news into and through the country from city to city, fast pony expresses were introduced, carrier pigeons were trained, and rude semaphores, to wig-wag from hilltop to hilltop, were set up. Then, in time, the steamship supplanted the sailing-craft, the railroad usurped the functions of the stage-coach and the expresses, and, finally, the electric telegraph displaced the pigeons and semaphores.

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Then came the Atlantic cable. All of these instrumentalities were speedily employed for the gathering and distributing of news. And for news the American people at a very early period grew voracious. Away back in April, 1814, Nathan Hale, a nephew of the patriot spy, became editor of the Boston *Advertiser*, and in his first editorial, said one of the peculiar traits of our national character was the insatiable appetite for news: even the habitual salutation on the meeting of the people was, "What's the news?" We became, and still are, as no others on earth, a news-mad people.

As time moved on, Topliff ceased his activities, which were taken up by others. His methods were adopted in New York harbor, and later, when the Cunard Line made Halifax its first western port of call, that was the center of interest and source of supply for European information, which was sent to Boston and the other cities of the country by pony expresses, by railway trains, and at last by telegraph.

There is a story of the cable which may interest you. The first general manager of what was called "The Associated Press" was one Dr. Jones. He was an authority upon telegraphs—at least he thought he was. He wrote a book on the subject. It may be found in one or two of the public libraries. In it he declared himself in no uncertain terms respecting the absurd proposal to connect America with Europe by a submarine cable. "It cannot be done," said he; "experience has shown that a relay every forty miles is necessary to carry the electric current along. And how can you have such relays in the bed of the ocean?"

"There is only one way to reach Europe by telegraphy," he continued; "that is to build a line up through British Columbia and Alaska to the Bering Sea, and thence across Siberia to Moscow, and Paris, and London." And the telegraph company adopted this view. They sent two expeditions, one to British Columbia and the other to Siberia. They were putting up poles and

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R. M. JOHNSTON

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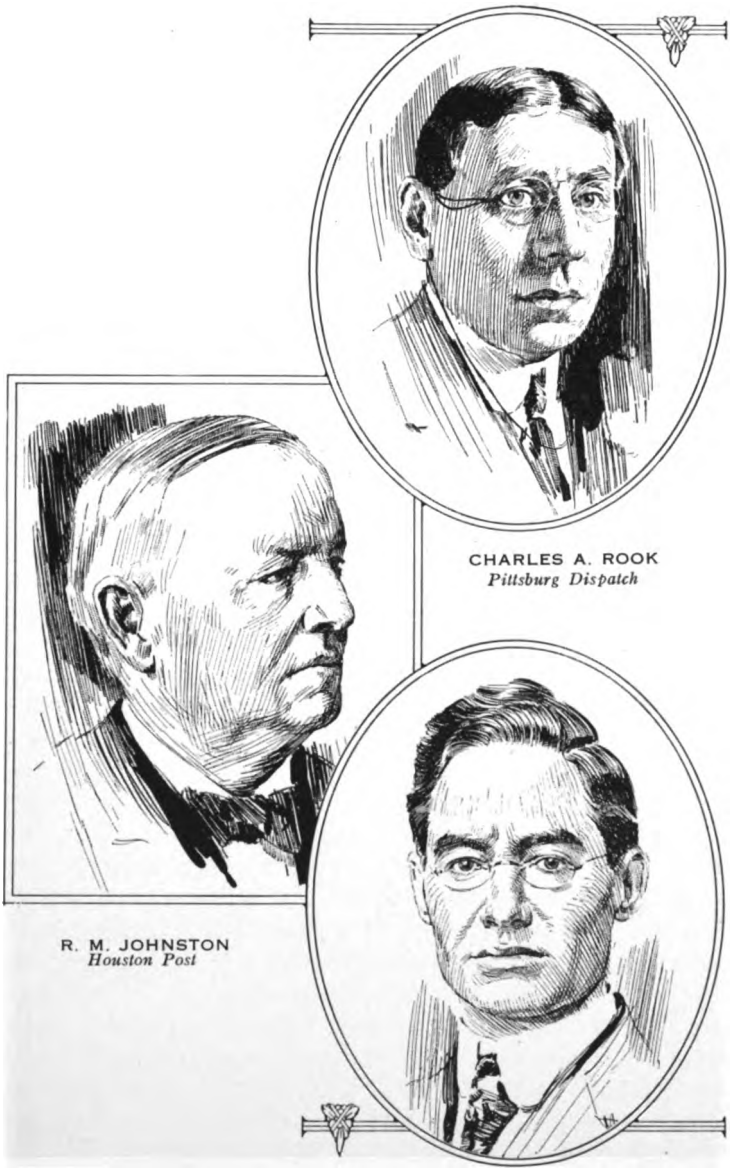

CHARLES A. ROOK
Pittsburg Dispatch

R. M. JOHNSTON
Houston Post

D. E. TOWN
Louisville Herald

MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT BOARD OF DIRECTORS—IV

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stringing wires, when one day a message announcing the successful operation of Mr. Cyrus Field's cable was received. In an hour their work ceased, and some rotted poles up near the Alaskan border, at a place still known as Telegraph Hill, remain as a monument of their error.

One of those who went to Siberia was Mr. George Kennan, a telegraph operator and editor of The Associated Press, who there learned of the horrors of the prison mines, and who, in book and lecture, has since done so much to enlighten the world upon the subject.

As I have said, Topliff's work was taken up by others. Among and chief of these was a Mr. Craig, who proved an aggressive, enterprising, and altogether remarkable man. As an independent news-gatherer, he contested the field with the combination of New York City papers, perfected about 1850, and enjoying the aid of the newly invented Morse telegraph lines. This combination was popularly named The New York Associated Press, although it never was incorporated and therefore never had a legal title. Its General Manager was the Dr. Jones of whom I have spoken. Craig won in the struggle and displaced Jones, and for several years achieved distinction in the business.

But this New York Associated Press carried in its organization and methods the seeds of its own destruction. It was really a partnership of seven newspapers. They gathered the news of the world and sold it to the newspapers of the country published outside of the metropolis. It was inevitable that, sooner or later, there should be trouble. And so there was. Out in the West there was organized The Western Associated Press, which contracted with The New York Associated Press for an exchange of service. This went on for some years, until it grew very unsatisfactory to the Westerners. The New York organization gathered such news as it pleased, and the Western papers had no voice in the business. In 1882, on my motion, I then being a mem-

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ber and director of The Western Associated Press, we broke with the New York people and set out for ourselves. There was a sharp but very short-lived contest. Then there was a compromise combination. And for ten years this lasted. Meanwhile I went out of journalism. All the while I was convinced that the method of operation of these associations was fundamentally wrong. They were all conducted as money-making ventures—that is, a limited number of newspaper proprietors organized into an association, gathered news, and sold it at a profit to other newspapers or organizations of newspaper owners. There were a dozen or more of these associations. The chief one was The New York Associated Press. As I have said, it was a partnership of seven New York newspaper proprietors. This concern gathered primarily the foreign and Washington news, as well as information respecting the happenings of New York City. It exchanged its budget of news with the smaller associations scattered over the country, exacting a differential annual payment to represent the larger value of the news provided by the New-Yorkers than that of the news of the smaller companies. There were many objections to this system. It was not always fair from a merely financial point of view. The New-Yorkers held the whip-handle and naturally were led into using it to exact larger bonuses than were just. Then, too, they determined the character of the news they gathered, with little care for the needs or wishes of the papers in the interior of the country, which were dependent upon them. And they had an alliance with the telegraph company which gave them reduced rates and exclusive privileges, making competition practically impossible. In such circumstances they were easily able to poison the channels of news, although I think it right to say that there is little evidence that they ever did so in any considerable degree.

Withal, it was fortunate that their ways brought disaster to their association. As I have said, the quarrel

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with The Western Associated Press, which operated between the Allegheny and Rocky mountains, was patched up in 1882, and there was comparative peace for ten years. In this decade, however, new telegraph companies sprang into existence and made possible competing news associations. So in 1892 the dominance of the New York people was broken, and its work was handed over to what was then called The United Press, an institution having a small number of shareholders and practically a close corporation. Indeed, within a short time it was ruled by three men, only one of whom was a practical journalist. Out of this there was wide-spread discontent, but also wide-spread confusion. My old-time friends and former associates in The Western Associated Press were particularly disturbed. They met in general convention in Chicago, and appointed a committee to wait upon me and ask me to accept the post of General Manager of the organization which they had in mind. This was the beginning in purpose as well as in fact of what seems to me to have been, in form at least, an ideal news-gathering association.

We believed that, with a self-governing people, it was all-important that they should be well informed: informed truthfully and honestly respecting the affairs of the day. There should be no chance that they should be misled, if it were possible to achieve such an end. There was a public duty, of a very high character, involved in the matter. Not alone, if you please, that the market reports for the investor, or the merchant, or the farmer should be accurate, but—deeper and more important—in our political life, where the very business of government was at stake and vital, the truth, impartially, without bias or alien purpose, should be furnished for the guidance of the electorate. Obviously this was not to be secured from an agency operated by a few men, owing no responsibility to any one.

Then ensued a prolonged consideration of the subject, and it was agreed, as a result, that the best thing

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to do was to establish a nation-wide association, of a co-operative character, with no capital, no profits, no dividends—including as members papers of every conceivable political, social, and religious bent, and subject to the control and censorship of these varied interests. This, it was believed, would give the best guaranty of unbiased, non-partisan, and wholly impartial reports of current events.

There was a four years' contest to make a success of such an institution. It was a case of private interest against public service. A large amount of money was expended by men who were wedded to the idea of a pure fountain of news service. And in the end their efforts were crowned with victory. This, my friends, is the history of the founding of The Associated Press of to-day. And now what is it? And how does it operate? First, there are something like nine hundred members, each owning a daily newspaper and each having a vote in determining the management. These nine hundred members represent every angle of every fad or ism outside the walls of Bedlam. And not only each member, but every employee of every member—nay, more, every reader of every one of these nine hundred daily papers sits in hourly judgment on the service which The Associated Press is rendering. This criticism was expected by those of us who founded the institution, and it is not at all to be deplored. It is the thing which safeguards an honest and truthful service of news to you. There are competing organizations, and their rivalry tends to celerity in gathering and presenting the news. I do not undervalue this feature of our work, yet I regard its reputation for truthfulness and strict impartiality as the best asset of The Associated Press. It is far less important that you get prompt news than that you get true news. Every one familiar with our work knows that it is utterly impossible for any one in the service, from the General Manager to the least important agent at the most remote point, to send an untruthful despatch and

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escape detection. You may write a biased or inaccurate statement for a single newspaper and "get away with it," but you cannot do it with the argus-eyed millions who read the despatches of The Associated Press. The very magnitute of its work tends to make truthfulness and impartiality imperative. I am not laying claim to any great virtue. I am saying that, under its system of operation and in view of the millions of critics passing upon its work, it is automatically truthful and fair. As one evidence of this, it is just to say that in the twenty-three years of the present management of the news service, although we have delivered untold millions of words of news every month, we have never paid a dollar of damages in an action for libel, nor have we compromised any case.

If we made an error, we have, and always will, correct it in the most straightforward and ample fashion. We have no squeamishness about this. I am convinced that there is no tyranny greater than that of the printed word, and that a newspaper loses nothing, but gains greatly, by an honest confession of error. It is not easy to establish a reputation for infallibility; it is very easy to secure a reputation for integrity, if it is deserved. And this is the thing that is of real value.

But, after all, let us return to our "muttons." For, I dare say, you are asking, how does all this explain how the world's news is gathered and furnished you in a newspaper issued at one cent a copy? First, as to the foreign news, which is, of course, the most difficult to obtain and the most expensive. Well, in normal times there are four great agencies which, with many smaller and tributary agencies, are covering the whole world. These four agencies are the Reuter Telegram Company, Ltd., of London, which assumes responsibility for the news of the great British Empire, including the home land, every colony except Canada, and the suzerain or allied countries, as Egypt, Turkey, and even China and Japan; and the Agence Havas, of Paris, taking care of the Latin

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countries, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Switzerland, and South America, as well as northern Africa; and the Wolff Agency of Berlin, reporting the happenings in the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Slav nations. These three organizations are allied with The Associated Press in an exclusive exchange arrangement. Subordinate to these agencies is a smaller one in almost every nation, having like exchange agreements with the larger companies.

Thus it happens that there is not a place of moment in the habitable globe that is not provided for. Moreover, there is scarcely a reporter on any paper in the world who does not, in a sense, become a representative of all these four agencies. Let me explain how this comes about. Not only have we these alliances, but in every important capital of every country, and in a great many of the other larger cities abroad, we have our own men, trained by long experience in our offices in this country. This we do because, first, we are anxious to view every country with American eyes; and, second, because a number of the agencies of which I have spoken are under the influence of their Governments and, therefore, not always trustworthy. We rely upon them for a certain class of news, as, for instance, accidents by flood and field, where there is no reason for any misrepresentation on their part. But where it is a question which may involve national pride or interest, or where there is a possibility of partisanship or untruthfulness, we trust our own men.

Now, assume that a fire has broken out in Benares, the sacred city of the Hindus, on the banks of the Ganges, and a hundred or a thousand people have lost their lives. Not far away, at Allahabad or at Calcutta, is a daily paper, having a correspondent at Benares, who reports the disaster fully. Some one on this paper sends the story, or so much of it as is of general rather than of local interest, to the agent of the Reuter Company at Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras; and thence it is cabled

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to London and Hong-Kong, and Sydney and Tokio. At each of these places there are Associated Press men, one of whom picks it up and forwards it to New York.

If the thing happens in Zanzibar, the story goes either to Cairo or Cape Town, and by the same process finds its way to London, and on to us in this country. Thus the wide world is combed for news, and in an incredibly short time is delivered and printed everywhere. When Pope Leo XIII died in Rome the fact was announced by an Associated Press telegram in the columns of a San Francisco paper in nine minutes from the instant when he breathed his last. And this message was repeated back to London, Paris, and Rome, and gave those cities the first information of the event. When Port Arthur was taken by the Japanese in the war of 1896 it came to us in New York in fifty minutes, although it passed through twenty-seven relay offices. Few of the operators transmitting it knew what the despatch meant. But they understood the Latin letters, and sent it on from station to station, letter by letter.

When Peary came back from his great discovery in the Arctic Sea he reached Winter Harbor, on the coast of Labrador, and from there sent me a wireless message that he had nailed the Stars and Stripes to the North Pole. This went to Sydney, on Cape Breton Island, and was forwarded thence by cable and telegraph to New York.

For its domestic service other methods are adopted. The territory covered includes the United States proper, Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, the islands of the Caribbean Sea, Mexico, the Central American States, and, by an exchange arrangement with the Canadian Press, Limited, the British possessions on this continent.

The organization is, as you have been told, co-operative in its character. As a condition of membership, each one belonging agrees to furnish to his fellow-members, either directly or through the Association, and

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to them exclusively, the news of his vicinage, as gathered by him for his own paper. This constitutes the large fountain from which our American news supply is drawn. But, as in the case of the foreign official agencies, if there be danger that an individual member is biased, or if the matter be one of high importance, we use our own trained and salaried staff men to do the reporting. For this purpose, as well as for administrative work, we have a bureau in every leading city.

For the collection and interchange of this information we lease from the various telephone and telegraph companies, and operate with our own employees, something like fifty thousand miles of wires, stretching out in every direction through the country and touching every important center. To reach smaller cities, the telephone is employed. Everywhere in every land, and every moment of every day, there is ceaseless vigil for news.

I am frequently asked what it costs thus to collect the news of the world. And I cannot answer. Our annual budget is between three and four million dollars. But this makes no account of the work done by the individual paper all over the world in reporting the matters and handing the news over to the agencies. Neither can I estimate the number of men and women engaged in this fashion. It is easy to measure the cost of certain specific events; as, for instance, we expended twenty-eight thousand dollars to report the Martinique disaster. And the Russo-Japanese war cost us over three hundred thousand dollars.

Such, my friends, is an outline of our activities in what we call normal times. But these are not normal times. When the great European War broke on us, eighteen months ago, all of the processes of civilization seemed to go down in an hour. And we suffered in common with others. Our international relations for the exchange of news were instantly dislocated. We had been able to impress the Governments abroad with the value of an impartial and unpurchasable new service, as opposed

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to the venal type of journalism, which was too common on the European continent. And in our behalf they had abolished their censorships. They had accorded us rules assuring us great rapidity in the transmission of our messages over their Government telegraph lines. They had opened the doors of their chancelleries to our correspondents, and told them freely the news as it developed.

All these advantages ceased. The German news agency was prohibited from holding any intercourse with the English, French, or Russian organizations. Simultaneously, like commerce was interdicted in the other countries. The virtues of impartial news-gathering at once ceased to be quoted at par. Everywhere, in all of the warring lands, the Biblical rule that "He that is not with me is against me" became the controlling view. Government telegrams were obviously very important, and there was no time to consider anywhere any of the promised speed in sending our despatches. Finally, censorships were imposed. This was quite proper in principle. Censorships are always necessary in time of war. But it is desirable, from every point of view, that they be intelligent.

I am sorry to say that, for crass stupidity, some of the European censoring has never been equaled unless it was in the days of our Civil War. In 1862 Secretary Stanton instituted at Washington a military control of news telegrams which will ever remain a monument of imbecile autocracy. Those in charge of the business were wholly without qualifications for the work, and their antics were both annoying and ludicrous. For instance, information printed in the Washington papers without objection could not be sent to Boston or Chicago, but was frequently copied by the Boston and Chicago papers after the Washington papers had been smuggled through the Confederate lines to Richmond, the news printed in the Richmond papers, and these, in turn, smuggled back through the Federal lines to the North.

Well, like doltish management has characterized much

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of the censorship abroad and has increased our difficulties. Mark you, we fully recognize the propriety and need of a military censorship and have no thought of objecting to it. But when the business is put in the hands of people who, either because of their censurable habits or their lack of ordinary elementary education, are often in no condition to exercise any discriminating judgment, we do protest.

Nevertheless, I feel that we have fared pretty well in the business of reporting this war. We have made distinct progress in teaching the belligerents that we hold no brief for any of them, and, while each would much rather have us plead his cause, they are coming to see why we cannot and ought not to do so. And our men, I am glad to say, are everywhere respected and accorded as large privileges as, perhaps, in the light of the tension of the hour, could be reasonably asked.

During this war we have more men and more offices in Europe than any other news-gathering organization ever had, and are expending even greater sums. Last week, for example, we received the speech in the Reichstag of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and the German *Baralong* Note not only by wireless, but also by the costly cable route through Holland and England to New York. In tolls alone the cost to The Associated Press of such matter was over one dollar a word—yet this all goes to you in your penny paper.

When the Austria-Hungary Government prepared a reply to the American note on the sinking of the *Ancona* the reply was relayed by Associated Press men from Vienna to Berlin, from Berlin to The Hague, from The Hague to London, and from London to New York, and delivered, in spite of the censorships, to virtually every newspaper-reader in the United States thirty-six hours before it was decoded in the State Department at Washington.

Yesterday's London *Times* complained that the version of Germany's Baralong correspondence published in

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London was incomplete, although neutral countries received the full German report, and added:

"Some idea of the importance attached by the German Government to the correspondence may be gleaned from the fact that the whole despatch was sent direct from Berlin by wireless to New York, where it was transmitted exact to 1,000 leading American newspapers through The Associated Press."

There is much misunderstanding in the public mind respecting the limitations which we believe, with distinct propriety, have been imposed upon The Associated Press.

Also, many people are unable to distinguish between Associated Press despatches and special telegrams for which we have no responsibility, and yet for which we frequently receive undeserved blame.

There are certain things which it should do, and others which it must not do. It should report the important events of the day as fairly and truthfully and impartially as is possible for human beings to do. It may not go further. It must give both sides of a question fair treatment. But it must not hint that either side is right or wrong. It may be claimed that this sort of negative work has no value; that The Associated Press sees a great wrong and makes no sign of disapproval. It sees a movement for the betterment of mankind which is of the highest moment, and does not lend a hand to help the thing along. Let us see. There is an underlying belief that the American people are capable of self-government. If so, they must needs be able to form a judgment. And we conceive it to be of very great importance that the people be given the facts free from the slightest bias, leaving to them the business of forming their own judgment. Let us see what any other method of dealing with the news of the day must mean. If a news agency is to present somebody's view of the right or wrong of the world's happenings, whose view is it to be? And what assurance are we to have that the somebody's view is the right view? And if it is the wrong view, what then?

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One final word: The Associated Press, reaching as it does with its despatches the great body of the American people, has very large responsibility. And we believe the business of news-gathering, when properly done, has a distinct moral value. Notwithstanding all I have said about the impartiality of the Association, and notwithstanding the fact that it takes no part for either side in any controversy, it nevertheless has an enormous influence upon American life. Adopting the terminology of our medical friends, "We cure diseases upon the body-politic by the aseptic and not by the antiseptic method."

Given a correct environment, we leave nature to do the rest. If, with the truth before them, the people choose to go wrong, that is their affair, not ours. We furnish an atmosphere of truth which necessarily leads to purifying the cesspool. We furnish the light which flames out into the dark places and makes impossible "treason, stratagem, and spoils."

We do not hunt out scandals or gruesome tales for the sole purpose of pandering to vitiated desires, but bend our energies toward writing the real and abiding history of the day. The Association is a voluntary union of a number of gentlemen for the employment of a certain staff of news reporters to serve them jointly. For its work it derives no advantage from the Government, from any State or municipality, from any corporation, or from any person. I have no thought of saying that it is perfect. The frailties of human nature attach to it. But of this I am certain: If, in its form of organization or its method of operation, it is in violation of any law, divine or human, it is the very last institution in this country to seek to avoid its responsibility. If any one can devise or suggest a better way to do the work it is seeking to do, it will be glad to adopt it, or to permit some one else to put it in operation. The thing it is striving for is a truthful, unbiased report of the world's happenings, under forms that are legal, and not only conformable to statutes, but ethical in the highest degree.

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THE PORTSMOUTH CONFERENCE*

AN ARTICLE REGARDING THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1905

By Melville E. Stone

IN his Autobiography—page 586—Colonel Roosevelt, speaking of the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, thus refers to the Emperor of Germany:

> During the course of the negotiations I tried to enlist the aid of the government of one nation, which was friendly to Russia, and of another nation, which was friendly to Japan, in helping to bring about peace. I got no aid from either. I did, however, receive aid from the Emperor of Germany.

Behind this lies a singularly dramatic story: The conference for the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War assembled early in August, 1905. Something like a fortnight before the opening Mr. Martin Egan, of the Tokio bureau of The Associated Press, had sent me a memorandum of the Japanese claims. It contained fifteen clauses.

The Japanese Government was represented by Baron Jutaro Komura, as chief commissioner, a Harvard graduate of the class of 1878, who had served his country as minister at Washington in 1898 and had then gone to St. Petersburg as minister in 1900. His associate commissioner was Baron Kogoro Takahira, who had represented Japan in the United States in several capacities—first, as secretary of legation at Washington in 1881; next as consul-general at New York in 1891,

* From *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 30, 1915. Reprinted here with the courteous permission of the Editor.

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and finally as minister to Washington in 1900, which post he still held at the opening of the Portsmouth Conference.

Besides these gentlemen there was an unofficial commissioner for Japan who had been in the United States throughout the war as personal representative of Prince Ito. This was Baron Kentaro Kaneko, who had taken his degree from the Harvard Law School.

The Russian Government was represented by Count Sergius Witte, who at the moment was unquestionably the most distinguished statesman of his country, a man of remarkable capacity, who had risen from a humble origin to a post of commanding influence in the Czar's Government. Associated with him was Baron Roman Rosen, who had been Russian minister at Washington for a number of years, and had then been transferred to Tokio, where he was serving as minister at the opening of the Russo-Japanese contest.

All of these commissioners were personal friends of mine, and after their arrival in this country I had frequent interviews with them. The conditions imposed by the Japanese were fairly well understood by both sides and were naturally the subject of consideration between us.

At the outset, or within a day or two after his arrival in New York, Witte told me in a most emphatic way that he had no sympathy whatsoever with President Roosevelt's efforts to secure peace. At the moment he believed the time to be most inopportune. He was convinced that the Japanese had passed the high-water mark and had reached a point where they had neither the men nor the money with which to continue the conflict.

He firmly believed that if the Emperor of Russia had refused to accept the Roosevelt invitation, and had gone on fighting, the tide would have turned and Russia would have won. As to any proposition for the payment of an indemnity, Russia would never pay a penny. It was well understood that the Japanese proposed to

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claim eight hundred million dollars; but Witte said that if such a demand were made a condition of peace there would be no peace.

"Why should we pay an indemnity?" he asked. "The Japanese have never invaded Russia. No Japanese has ever set foot on Russian soil. The contest has been fought out on Chinese soil and no claim for indemnity has ever been recognized, nor can one ever be recognized, unless the victorious party to a war has actually invaded the enemy's territory."

The conference went into session almost at once, and most of the points at issue were met, discussed, and settled in due course; but finally the commissioners came to a deadlock on the question of indemnity.

On Friday, August 25, an *impasse* having been reached, Witte and Rosen received peremptory orders from their sovereign to quit the conference on the following Tuesday. Whereupon they packed up their belongings and made ready to leave at a moment's notice.

At that time I was living at the Lotos Club, on Fifth Avenue, in the city of New York; and at an early hour on the following Sunday morning I received a telephone message from Baron Kaneko, who asked whether he might see me on an important matter—he thought, perhaps, that I was able to influence the Russian commissioners, and so on. He was living at the Leonori, an apartment-house on the corner of Madison Avenue and Sixty-third Street.

As the Lotos Club was a rather public place for a conference, I told him I would go to his apartment; and I went there shortly before noon. We entered at once on a consideration of the critical situation at Portsmouth. He asked me whether I thought the Russian Government would pay any indemnity. He was impressed with the idea that Witte and Rosen were bluffing, and that Russia would pay something if by doing so she could save her face.

He had a number of suggestions along this line, and

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asked whether I thought the Russians would give compensation under some other guise, or whether there was not some form that could be adopted to satisfy the Russian *amour propre.*

"For example," he said, "Russia might pay for the care of Russian prisoners in Japan or for the return of some part of the South Manchurian Railroad line."

I told him I was positive the Russian refusal to pay money was final and that Russia could not be moved from its determination in this regard. He suggested that Witte had already said he was willing to pay something—for example, a sum equal to the amount paid by the United States for Alaska.

To this I replied that the amount paid for Alaska was something like seven million dollars, and that the payment of such a sum on a claim of eight hundred million was so ridiculously small that Japan could not afford to take it.

"Moreover," I added, "you have settled every question except that of money, and it now becomes important for Japan to consider whether she can afford to go on fighting over a mere matter of indemnity."

Baron Kaneko was quick to say that Japan recognized that point, and added: "We shall never be placed in the attitude of fighting for mere money. But the situation is very serious; the conference is at a standstill, and day after to-morrow the Russian commissioners will break up the conference. I fully recognize the force of what you say; but now, if we take the ground that we will not go on with the war merely to enforce the payment of indemnity there is really no alternative except to waive all claim on Russia for our tremendous losses.

"But suppose we waive this point," he went on; "our immediate necessity is to hold the conference together. Witte and Rosen are about to quit. I take it they have no sympathy with the conference anyhow, and are quite ready and glad to seize on the authority given them to end our negotiations."

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ELBERT H. BAKER
Cleveland Plain Dealer

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
New York Evening Post

JOHN R. RATHOM
Providence Journal

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"There is one man who can intervene and save the situation," I replied.

"Whom do you mean?" Kaneko asked.

"The German Emperor."

"But," said he, "you know he is not our friend. You cannot have forgotten the cartoon of the 'Yellow Peril' which he drew."

"That is all very true," I replied; "but he is more anxious for peace at this hour than to emphasize any sentimental views he may have concerning the 'Yellow Peril.' He is a close friend of the Russian Emperor, and I have no doubt he would be glad, if he were appealed to and if he were advised that Japan was prepared to abandon her claim for indemnity, to intercede with the Czar to prolong the conference and reach a settlement."

By this time we had gone to luncheon and Baron Kaneko asked how the German Emperor could be reached. I replied that it was not a difficult matter and that I should be glad to arrange it. He asked me to do so.

Baron Speck von Sternberg, the German ambassador, was not in America at the time, and in his absence Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen, counselor and first secretary of the Embassy, was acting as chargé. The latter was spending the summer at Lenox and I proceeded at once to get in touch with him. Leaving the luncheon table at the Leonori, I stepped to the telephone and asked Long Distance to connect me with Baron von Bussche.

There was some delay about the connection, however, and as I had another engagement I left word to have the call transferred to me at the Lotos Club. I then took my leave, Baron Kaneko agreeing that he would remain at his apartment and await word from me. A little later, at the Lotos Club, I received word that Baron von Bussche was at the other end of the telephone wire. I told him I wanted to talk to him about a very important

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diplomatic matter and asked how soon he could come to New York.

He replied that he could reach the city by five o'clock that afternoon; he realized that it must be a matter of considerable importance and asked no questions, but agreed to come to the Lotos Club at the earliest possible moment. I suggested that he bring with him his diplomatic code book.

I then telephoned Baron Kaneko and asked him to come to the club, which he did. I told him of Von Bussche's coming and said I had now gone as far as I could without notifying President Roosevelt about what we had in mind. He aquiesced, and I called up Oyster Bay and asked the President whether I might go out at once and talk with him about a very important matter connected with the Portsmouth Conference. He replied that he would be very glad to have me come, and soon after I was at the President's house on Sagamore Hill.

I told Mr. Roosevelt all that had happened, and he expressed himself as highly gratified at the course matters had taken. I then suggested that he write a message to the Kaiser, and he started to prepare one. At first he dictated and I wrote, but when I questioned the form of his message he suggested that he do the writing and I the dictating. The following is the message that resulted:

August 27, 1905.

MR. BUSSCHE: Please cable His Majesty the Emperor from me as follows:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Your Majesty: Peace can be obtained on the following terms: Russia to pay no indemnity whatever, and to receive back the north half of Sakhalin, for which it is to pay Japan whatever amount a mixed commission may determine. This is my proposition, to which the Japanese have assented reluctantly and only under strong pressure from me. The plan is for each of the contending parties to name an equal number of members of the commission, and for they themselves to name the odd member. The Japanese assert that Witte has in principle agreed that Russia should pay something

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to get back the north half of Sakhalin, and, indeed, he intimated to me that they might buy it back at a reasonable figure, something on the scale of that for which Alaska was sold to the United States.

These terms, which strike me as extremely moderate, I have not presented in this form to the Russian Emperor. I feel that you have more influence with him than I or any one else can have. As the situation is exceedingly strained and the relations between the plenipotentiaries critical to a degree, immediate action is necessary. Can you not take the initiative by presenting these terms at once to him? Your success in the matter will make the entire civilized world your debtor. This proposition virtually relegates all the unsettled issues of the war to the arbitration of a mixed commission as outlined above; and I am unable to see how Russia can refuse your request if in your wisdom you see fit to make it.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The second sentence of the letter was inserted, after deliberation, as a diplomatic phrase to avoid saying that the offer came from the Japanese.

At the President's suggestion I took this message, which was in his own handwriting, to one of his secretaries, Mr. Barnes, who was on duty at a hotel in Oyster Bay, and Mr. Barnes made copies of it for the President's file and for me. I then hurried back to New York, and about five o'clock was joined by Kaneko and Bussche at the Lotos Club.

It then occurred to me that there was one feature of the subject which had not been provided for: Baron Kaneko was, as I have said, an unofficial commissioner, and it dawned on me that I must assure myself of his authority before, by any act of mine, I committed either the President of the United States or the German Emperor to his assurance that the Japanese Government would waive its claim for indemnity.

I frankly told him of my dilemma and said that I could not go further without definite evidence of his authority. He recognized the propriety of my suggestion and asked me to telephone Baron Komura, at Portsmouth, and receive his personal assurance on the subject. I felt that though this was but a matter of

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form it was essential; and I accordingly put in a long-distance call for Baron Komura.

To save time Baron Bussche had gone into another room at the club and was converting as rapidly as he could the Roosevelt message into code. For a time we had no response to our call for Portsmouth; and while we were waiting I called up President Roosevelt to tell him of what I had done. He expressed his hearty approval of the precaution. Hour after hour passed without a word from Komura. Bussche at length finished coding the message and was impatient to transmit it to Berlin. He finally decided to cable it, with an explanation of the circumstances.

Late that night, despairing of reaching Komura by telephone, I telegraphed one of our correspondents at Portsmouth and in a guarded message asked him to wire me concerning Baron Kaneko's authority. The reply came at length; and to say the least it gave me pause, for it was to the effect that Baron Takahira had informed the correspondent that Kaneko was in no way authorized to speak for the commission. Naturally I was dumfounded at this turn of affairs; and though I could not believe that Baron Kaneko had deliberately tricked us, I made haste to report the news to President Roosevelt.

My news was as much of a surprise to the President as it had been to me. It was difficult for us to reconcile matters. For days we had both been receiving Baron Kaneko as though he were fully empowered to speak for his Government, and we were loath to believe that such was not the case; but in the face of the message from Takahira what were we to believe? Finally it was decided that the President should send a frank statement of what we had done to Baron Komura and see whether he could not shed some light on the matter. This message was the following:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y.

My Dear Baron Komura: I have had, as you know, a number of interviews with Baron Kaneko since your arrival in this country.

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These have always been held at his request and in the assumption that he was acting for you, this having been my understanding of what you said in our conversation when you were out here at my house, and when the matter of keeping me informed of what was being done at Portsmouth arose.

Moreover, he has frequently transmitted to me copies of your telegrams, evidently written to be shown to me—for instance, such telegrams of yours were inclosed in his notes sent to me yesterday and the day before yesterday, August twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh. I have, therefore, assumed that I could safely accept whatever he told me as being warranted by his understanding with you. To my astonishment a telegram was received by The Associated Press from Portsmouth last night, purporting to contain statements from Minister Takahira to the effect that Baron Kaneko was not authorized to see me, and containing, at least by implication, an expression of surprise that I should have treated him as having any such authorization.

The Manager of The Associated Press refused to allow this despatch to go out, and I take it for granted that it was false and that Mr. Takahira had given utterance to no such expression. But in view of its receipt I retraced a cable I had prepared to send His Majesty the German Emperor if Baron Kaneko approved, this cable having been prepared by me after consultation with Mr. Stone, who had himself seen Baron Kaneko as well as Baron Bussche, of the German Embassy, and who understood it was along the line you desired. [Here was inserted the cablegram as given above.]

At the end Baron Bussche stated to the Kaiser that if the Czar could be persuaded to come to these terms I should at once publicly give him the credit for what had been accomplished, and try in every way to show that whatever of credit might attach to bringing the negotiation to a successful conclusion should come to him in the most public and emphatic manner. This was added at my suggestion, for I need not tell you, my dear Baron, that my sole purpose has been to try to bring about peace, and I am absolutely indifferent as to anything that is said about me in connection with the matter.

But of course under these circumstances I shall not send the cable unless I am definitely assured by you that this cable has your approval. Moreover, in view of the statement credited to Minister Takahira, I do not feel that Baron Kaneko should communicate with me any longer unless I am assured by you that it is your desire that he should do so and that he speaks with authorization from you.

Sincerely yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Monday was a day of great activity and great anxiety in many places and in many ways. In Tokio the Elder

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Statesmen, against great obstacles, but with high courage and infinite wisdom, were moving straight on in their effort to secure an honorable peace. They were fully advised of the situation at Portsmouth. They knew that, on the preceding Wednesday, Komura had made his last despairing effort to enforce the demand for indemnity. He had reduced the claim from eight hundred million to six hundred million dollars, but had made no impression; and, instead, had noted that the Russian commissioners were ready and anxious to seize on any demand for tribute as an excuse to end the whole business and go on with the conflict. At home they were confronted with a populace burning with patriotism, glorying in their unexampled triumph, and fully convinced of the ability of their nation to cope with any measure of resistance on the part of their enemy. At the moment, Marquis Ito proved to be the controlling force and touched the highest level of his extraordinary career. Under his commanding influence Japan refused to make monetary compensation a *sine qua non* in her negotiations. She braved the danger of a revolting war spirit, accepted the burden of her immense war debt, and instructed her plenipotentiaries in America to sign a treaty of peace on the terms already agreed to.

In Russia the situation was no less complicated. There, too, was a war party confident and insistent. After the series of disasters that culminated at Mukden, Kuropatkin had been relieved as General-in-Chief of the Manchurian army and Linievitch had taken his place. The new commander had a great record as a warrior; he had been first lieutenant to the great Skobeleff and shared in his glory. During the half-year that had followed his appointment he had received a hundred thousand fresh troops and had fully reorganized his army. Now he was anxious to flesh his sword and had no sort of doubt of his ability to wipe out his country's disgrace. With his associate officers he telegraphed the Czar in terms almost disrespectful. He said:

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I have the honor to inform Your Majesty that all my comrades and myself, after fully discussing the arguments for peace and the respective positions of the opposing armies, unanimously and resolutely voted for the continuation of the war until such time as the Almighty shall crown the efforts of our brave troops with success. It is no time to talk of peace after the battles of Mukden and of Tsushima.

The Czar himself, but a few days before, had issued a manifesto declaring that he would consent to no dishonorable peace. Yet there were countervailing influences that must be reckoned with; threatening revolutionary movements were observable in his European domains, and the rank and file of his Manchurian forces were not so enthusiastic for war as were his generals.

It was at this juncture that the German Emperor did his most effective work. Before the peace commissioners had assembled at Portsmouth he had held an advisory conference with the Czar on the Russian royal yacht in the Baltic Sea. Now, with Bussche's telegram before him, he sought once more to calm the troubled waters. There were telegrams flying back and forth between Berlin and St. Petersburg; and, as a result on this fateful Monday, Witte and Rosen received a forty-word cable from their imperial master which held them in leash until the final purpose of the Japanese should be disclosed.

In New York and Oyster Bay there was a day of impatient waiting. Early in the morning we learned that our failure to get word from Komura by telephone was due to a heavy storm, which put the wires out of commission. Later I learned that the disturbing message which quoted Takahira as repudiating Kaneko was due to the fact that for prudential reasons my own telegram of inquiry had been almost cryptic. I had been so brief and had disclosed so little and asked so much that it was not understood; and a worse than non-committal reply had resulted.

I made another visit to Roosevelt; and after discussing

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the situation he and I agreed that I should announce through The Associated Press that evening that the Japanese had determined to waive their claim for indemnity—this with a view to committing them irrevocably to the pledge that Kaneko had given Bussche and myself.

This despatch was sent out, and of course reached Portsmouth instantly. As it was read to Komura and Takahira, they declined to say anything. Witte and Rosen thought it a ruse and went on with their preparations to quit the place the next day. Their plans were well laid. If, as they expected, there should be any further pressing for indemnity on Tuesday, Witte was to leave the conference-room at 11.50 A.M., and in a casual way call to one of his secretaries the following Russian command, "*Pochlite sa moymy rousskymy papyrossamy*" ("Send for my Russian cigarettes").

This was a signal; the secretary told off for the task was to step to a private telephone connecting with their headquarters at the Wentworth Hotel, in Portsmouth, repeat the words to a member of the mission standing at the other end, and a single code word, already agreed on, should be instantly cabled to St. Petersburg. On receipt of this word in the Russian capital the signal was to be flashed to General Linievitch, and a battle of the centuries was to begin. A million men were to participate.

Such was the plan and such the expectation on Monday night.

On Tuesday morning the London *Times* and the London *Telegraph* led off in their despatches from Portsmouth with the comments of their respective correspondents. These were George W. Smalley, of the *Times*, and Dr. E. J. Dillon, of the *Telegraph*.

They spent their wrath in ridicule and denunciation of The Associated Press, which had assumed to know all things and had asserted that the Japanese were about to withdraw their claim for indemnity. Such a thing was

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inconceivable. There would be further negotiations, said they, and Heaven alone knew what would result.

On Tuesday morning Roosevelt received a message from Komura assuring him that Kaneko was a quite responsible gentleman, and that we had made no mistake in receiving and in dealing with him. With this we awaited the result from the naval-stores room at Kittery Point, five miles from Portsmouth, with intense interest.

Up there it was a situation that, in point of dramatic interest, has rarely been equaled. The conference met. The utmost secrecy respecting the proceedings prevailed. Then the fateful hour of eleven-fifty arrived. And Witte came from the room—but not to ask for his Russian cigarettes. Instead, with flushed face and snapping eyes, he uttered, not the expected five Russian words, but two—"*Gospoda, mir!*" ("Gentlemen, peace!").

When the conference gathered, Satoh, the Japanese secretary, calmly rose and announced that, obedient to instructions from their Government, the claim for any indemnity was withdrawn; Japan would not fight for mere money, and peace was possible on the terms already accepted and agreed on by the Russian commissioners.

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THE A. P. AND ITS MALIGNERS*

By Melville E. Stone

IN DEALING with this subject I want to call the attention of our critics to two publications which have not received at their hands the attention they deserve. The first is entitled "Pseudologia Politica, or a Treatise of the Art of Political Lying." It is to be found in Volume VI of the ordinary edition of Swift's works. The other is called "Maxims on the Popular Art of Cheating," a posthumous essay by Augustus Tomlinson, a mythical professor of moral philosophy in a mythical German university. It appears as an appendix to Lord Lytton's "Paul Clifford." Both of these books are easily accessible. Yet there is evidence that some people are not as familiar with them as they might profitably be. They were written years ago, but the excuse which Lord Lytton offered in 1840 for the presentation of one of them still holds good. He said, "At an age when Hypocrisy stalks, simpers, sidles, struts, and hobbles through the country, Truth also begins to watch her adversary in every movement, and I cannot but think these lessons peculiarly well timed."

As to the practical utility of lying and cheating, I suppose, from my experience with them, that the critics of The Associated Press will, at heart, generally agree. Even from the imprisoned point of view of an Episcopal clergyman, the witty Dr. Clinton Locke, of Chicago, used to solemnly declare that "a lie was an abomination unto the Lord, but a very present help in time of trouble."

* An Address delivered at Chautauqua, August 2, 1912.

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And a lie in respect of a public matter is said to be less reprehensible than one in respect of a private matter. For instance, Lecky, the author of the "History of European Morals," has observed that "in practical politics, public and private morals will never absolutely correspond." And Lord Acton, who was perhaps the closest student of history of the last half century, holding the same view, says, "The principles of public morality are as definite as those of the morality of private life, but they are not identical."

If this be the true view, every cheerful and zealous muckraker who, as John of Patmos puts it, "loveth and maketh a lie," about The Associated Press will owe me a debt of gratitude for calling his attention to these two little handbooks, by the study of which he may so qualify himself as to do his work as an artist rather than as a bungler; so that, as the late Dr. Edward Everett Hale said, "he will cease to be a chipped-off reformer who disgraces the name and will become a real idealist." Then, indeed, as Swift says, that noble and useful art of lying will no longer lie in rubbish and confusion.

Time will not permit a full exposition of these valuable books. Nor is it necessary. A few draughts from the fount of wisdom will excite curiosity, whet interest and tempt our critics to the source of the vitalizing waters. The Swift book is in eleven chapters and is an able defense of public mendacity, with hints and rules for the guidance of the ambitious falsifier. "The abundance of political lying," says the author, "is a sure sign of true English liberty." This is a direct challenge to Richard Steele, who in the *Tatler* characterized the lying critic as a "fly that feeds on the sore part and would have nothing to live on if the whole body were in health." Using the present-day phrase, he wanted to "swat the carrion-carrying fly."

But Swift was wiser. He saw what an insupportable tyranny we should have if political lying were denied to

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those striving to make advancement in the art. He admonished his pupils, however, that for their own sakes their "lies should, at least, be plausible." They should comport with known facts. One should not say of a noted miser, for instance, that he had given away all at once five thousand pounds; twenty or thirty pounds would be enough. Finally, he proposed a Liars' Trust, where, for example, perhaps a captain of the marines might co-operate with a successful fisherman.

Tomlinson is equally attractive and instructive. He quotes Lord Coke's saying that "to trace an error to its fountainhead is to refute it," and he cautions his cony-catching followers to be careful in dealing with one who is liable to insist upon investigation.

Now The Associated Press has been under fire for years. But the trouble has been that its critics have not taken pains to qualify themselves, as they might have done by reading the two little books I have mentioned. They have been clumsy blunderers in the noble art. For instance, it was unwise in one critic, when a couple of years ago he tried to get me, as they got Stephen in the olden days, to ask if I had arranged for Taft and Harriman a secret midnight conference as their private trains met somewhere in Georgia.

The thing lacked verisimilitude. A true artist would have seen how futile it was to try to make any one believe such a meeting had taken or could take place. Every trainman, telegraph operator, or train-despatcher would have been gabbling about it. But the most unfortunate feature of all was that it afterward was disclosed that there were half a dozen newspaper men on Taft's train, one of them being our critic's own correspondent. Do you imagine that a qualified student of Swift, or Tomlinson, would have made such a mistake?

Again, it was not the work of a good craftsman who more than a year later, and when this little fiction had been fully exposed, laughed at and forgotten, revived the story in a new and more absurd form in a Chicago

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newspaper. Then the offense charged was not the arranging for the mythical conference, but the *suppression* of the news of the meeting which never took place. And coupled with it was the allegation that there was a secret telephone wire connecting J. P. Morgan's office with my room. This also was the work of a man who had not yet achieved the position of a 'prentice hand in the noble art of misstatement. Even the office boys in our New York bureau were better informed.

The Government trust prosecutor wrote a letter charging that the general manager of The Associated Press was owned by the Standard Oil people. It took a long time to have the thing come to the surface, but when it did there was that going back to the fountain-head against which Professor Tomlinson warned his pupils who were trying to become successful rogues, and then the poor man had to write an abject retraction and apology.

Senator La Follette made a thrust at the organization in his *Weekly*. He was notified at once of the injustice of his article. It was most inartistic that he should wait more than seven months before he made an *amende* and not one of Swift's or Tomlinson's well-trained pupils but would have done better when caught than to say, as did La Follette, "In this instance The Associated Press played square." I may say of this correction, as did John P. Hale of ex-President Pierce. When the Rebellion broke out Pierce was doubtful as to the course he would pursue. After much delay he pronounced in a speech in favor of the Union. Hale followed, and simply said of Pierce's declaration as I must of La Follette's apology, "It was late, reluctant, and altogether unimportant."

Speaker Clark has another view of the proprieties. In the heat of the contest before the meeting of the Baltimore convention, he accused The Associated Press of bias in favor of Governor Wilson. At the same moment the Wilson people were charging in their literature

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that the organization leaned toward Clark. Each of the other candidates was sure he was "getting the worst of it." The facts were made plain to all, and it was quite evident that none had any just cause for grievance; that The Associated Press service, however it differed from the exaggerated claims of the campaign managers, and however unpalatable, therefore, it frequently was, was nevertheless absolutely truthful.

Then Mr. Clark promptly and manfully wrote a letter in which he said: "I believe I ought to withdraw the charges which I preferred in anger. I have concluded that I had no cause of complaint."

Such are examples of the kind of criticism to which The Associated Press is subjected. Sometimes the critics are mendacious; sometimes they are so influenced by partisanship that they are incapable of being fair-minded; sometimes they are unable to discriminate between Associated Press despatches and special telegrams for which we have no responsibility.

No one will claim perfection for our service. The frailties of human nature necessarily have some influence. But there are certain underlying truths which cannot be ignored. It is the only co-operative news-gathering agency in the world. It was founded by a band of earnest men who contested the field with an organization controlled by three men. This band of men felt that the power lodged with these three men was so great as to constitute a menace. They felt that it was far safer to put the power in the hands of the great body of newspaper people, of every shade of political partisanship, religious belief, social affiliation, and commercial tie.

So it comes about that The Associated Press despatches are under the censorship, not of three men answerable to no one, but primarily of eight hundred and fifty newspaper proprietors constituting the membership; secondarily, of every editor on each of these eight hundred and fifty papers; and finally, of the untold millions of readers

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who depend upon these despatches for their daily information respecting every phase of human activity.

No institution that I know of so wears its heart upon its sleeve. You require no explanation respecting its service from me. You read it every day, and what it is, for truth or for error, you may determine. The intimation that any one can successfully use its service for an improper end is as stupid as it is wicked. Until some one of a responsible character can present evidence of such use from the despatches which you and all America sees daily, such an accusation deserves no consideration.

The interesting but noisy young man from Grub Street, who, with marked literary mien, half-lighted cigarette and unspeakable cocksureness, is hunting about for something to reform at a reasonable rate per magazine page, will be disappointed when he tackles this business. However assertive his style, or fertile his imagination, he cannot do much with it. It lacks the elements out of which to create the necessary mystery, the startling disclosure, and the profitable scandal. Obviously, there can be no mystery about the character of Associated Press despatches. They are known and read of all men, and the judgment of one person respecting them is about as good as that of another.

While there is no secret about it, and while the collection and distribution of news by a co-operative agency is a perfectly simple and proper undertaking, there is no constant or wide-spread advertisement of the method of operation, and little is known of it by the public. The names of special correspondents are heralded in flaming type; the men of The Associated Press, however conscientious or capable, secure no such fame. But, after all, this means little. It is not who does the work, nor how he does it, but what the nature of his work is, that is of importance.

So also it follows that there can be no startling disclosures about the character of our despatches. To say,

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as one writer did, that he thought he saw a "slant" in favor of the trusts, or as another did that he had his doubts because "it is asking a good deal in this day of publicity, to expect us to believe that the sublime pawnbrokers who own this country have overlooked any such chance to sway the public mind"—such final judgments can have little weight with the wide-awake and sharply critical newspaper men and reading public, whose opportunities for deciding are undeniably as good as those of the writers quoted.

And so we go on unscathed. Let us bid Godspeed to all real reformers. But let us be careful to discriminate between the regenerate and the degenerate. Let us climb the delectable mountains, but let us be very sure they *are* the mountains, that the roses by our pathway are real roses, and that the shepherds at the top are real shepherds and not highwaymen.

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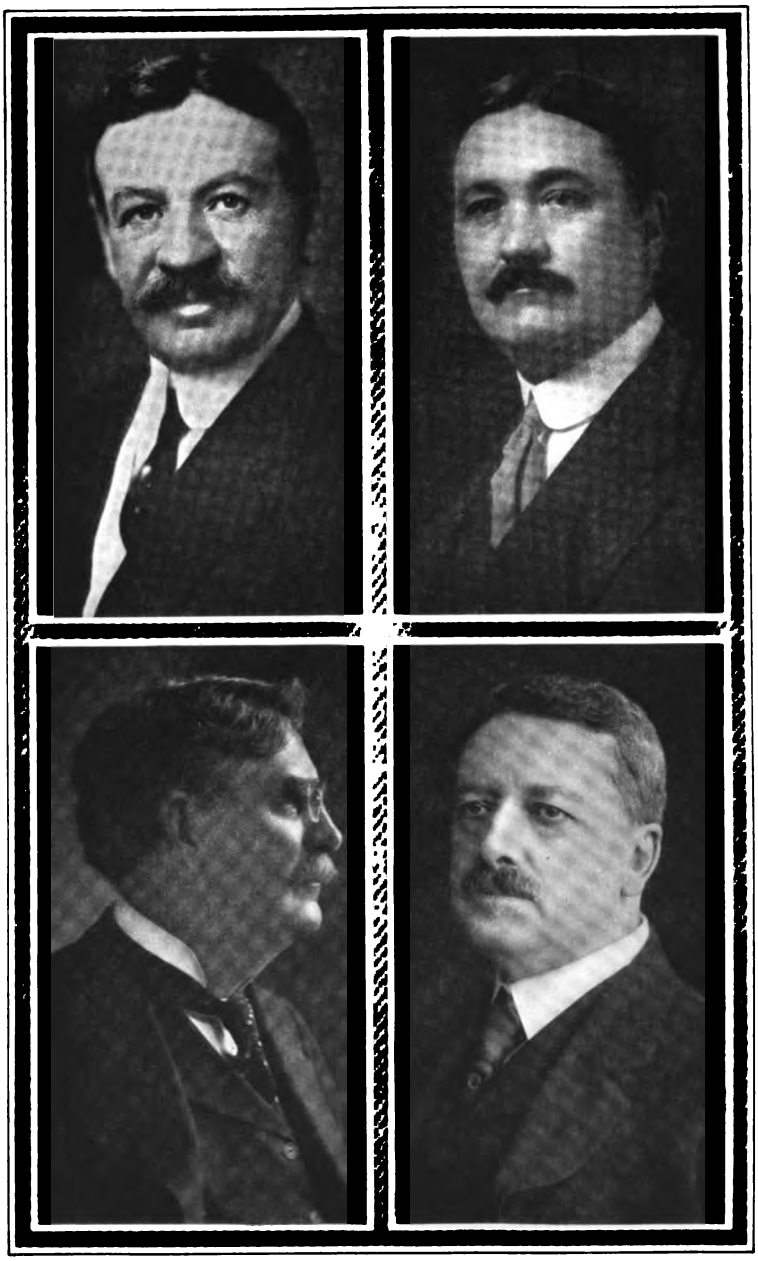

M. H. DE YOUNG
ALBERT P. LANGTRY

CHARLES H. GRASTY
STEPHEN O'MEARA

FORMER DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS—I

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THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER*

By Melville E. Stone

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I shared with you in the pleasure and profit derived from the lecture of Mr. Samuel Bowles † upon the ethics of journalism. It was a timely and convincing sermon on what Colonel Roosevelt has aptly called "The Old Moralities." We American newspaper men should be forever mindful of the scriptural injunction that "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." We belong to a privileged class. It was not always so. A struggle of two centuries was necessary to achieve for us the liberty which we enjoy—a liberty which is practically unique in its character. The newspaper as you and I know it is distinctly of American origin and American growth. There is nothing like it in any other place on earth. The nearest approach is, of course, to be found in England, but if you carefully study the English papers, you will agree that their resemblance to American newspapers is not so close as to make them twin enterprises. The newspapers of France, Germany, Italy, and Austria, with rare exceptions, are not newspapers at all, but are the mouthpieces of individual publicists, or, as Philpot Curran, the Irish orator, says, are "hodmen to the political architects." The so-called newspapers of the

* An address delivered before the students of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, January 12, 1914.

† The late Editor of the Springfield *Republican*, who had previously lectured before the school.

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rest of the world are practically negligible quantities. Here and there, as in the case of two daily papers of Buenos Aires, the Cologne *Gazette*, and the *Temps* of Paris, there are journals which rise to the level of some resemblance to the products of our effort in America. I should also include the papers of Canada and Australia. But these isolated cases constitute the exceptions which prove the rule.

Under the old theory of government when the view was that the citizens were created for the Government and not the Government for the citizens, obviously there could be no free speech and no free press. But back in Holland another view originated, that not only did Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, but that indeed the true principle went beyond that, and that Governments could rightfully exist only as the agents through which the individual citizen should be guaranteed and protected in the largest liberty of action consistent with his relation to his fellowmen. Government then became but a social contract. A necessary corollary of this freedom of the citizen and of this theory of government by and for the people was a free press. It was John Milton, who after visiting Holland and catching the spirit of that country, wrote his wonderful plea for unlicensed printing, which Augustine Birrell has well said was the noblest pamphlet in "Our English, the language of men ever famous in the achievements of liberty." Through many years of storm and stress, with indictments and arrests and jailings of editors, we carried on the conflict until, in the great trial of Peter Zenger, in this city of New York, we settled the issues forever. The right thereafter to print our news and our views without censorship was practically unchallenged. Twice the State Constitution framed in Massachusetts, when offered to the people, was rejected because it contained no provision guaranteeing a free press. Finally by the adoption of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution it was provided that

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there should never be anything done to abridge the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press in this country.

Our fathers at the beginning recognized thus early how essential this right of speech and right of printing was to our American liberty. But it carries with it a reciprocal responsibility of which, if we be at all fair-minded, we must ever be aware. A distinguished Russian has spoken of "the despotism of the printed phrase" —and it is undeniably true that a thing in print is far more pregnant of possibilities than the same thing in ordinary speech. To us, men have committed much, and of us they will ask the more. We are bound to do something more than to print and sell newspapers for profit. We owe a duty to our country, which is larger than that we owe to our counting-rooms, and this I conceive to be the first lesson which ought to be taught to any one having in mind the pursuit of this business of American journalism. Our enterprises are not purely commercial. If we are to do nothing more than to furnish mere entertainment for the public, then we fall to the level of the lowest panderer.

In his delightful book upon "The American Commonwealth," Mr. Bryce says, speaking of government by public opinion in America, "Newspapers are powerful in three ways, as narrators, as advocates, and as weathercocks." I think this order is obviously correct. I believe that the newspaper to perfectly fulfil its mission should first furnish the information upon which the citizen may form a judgment for his guidance in both his business and his political relations; second, it should be an intelligent presentation and discussion of public questions and fairly lead the citizen in the path of business and civic righteousness; third, it may very properly contribute to the healthful entertainment of the reader. Formerly in this country, and to-day upon the continent of Europe, the newspaper is, as I have said, an organ of opinion, the chief purpose being to give direc-

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tion to the public mind by argument. But to-day in America the editorial page has in too many instances ceased to be of much consequence and a fair, prompt, and accurate statement of current facts is the one desideratum.

If it be true, as I think, that the gathering of news is the chief function of the American newspaper, and if, after all, it is as the purveyor of news that the American newspaper is primarily valuable, it seems to me important to inquire, what is this news that we should gather, and what, if any, are the limitations imposed upon us in respect of the matter we may publish? As a nation we are a news-mad people.

It is easy to edit a newspaper if you put away entirely all effort at thinking. I know many news editors who calmly catalogue events, saying this is news and that is not; and having done this, they go their way, assuming that they are master-workmen in the craft. They will say, for instance, that a hanging is always news, a prize-fight is always news, a divorce case is always news, a railway accident is always news; in short, that any disaster by flood, or field, or in the domestic circle, is always news. Now, as a matter of fact, these things are episodes; they are the May-flies in the world of news —those short-lived insects which swarm like driving snowflakes in the evening, and, having deposited their eggs, leave their bodies piled in heaps on the banks of their native stream on the morning of the very next day. They are in no sense contributions to the real history of the world. To use another simile, they are like dishes of what the cookbooks call "floating island," tickling the palate for the moment, but having no substantial merit. Of such a character are nine-tenths of those news despatches which, for want of a better name, are called human interest stories.

It was Mr. Gladstone, I believe, who said that the true statesman was the man who knew how to select from the thousand-and-one public questions pressing for at-

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tention those which were really of consequence. This applies with equal force to the journalists. The newspaper which is edited without a proper sense of perspective becomes a confused and chaotic jumble, cheating the reader of valuable time and leaving with him little of real value. Such a newspaper was once owned by an ignorant plutocrat in the West. The Franco-German War was on. One night he entered his office and found two editors, who had been given co-ordinate authority, quarreling. One of them was pro-French and the other pro-German, and each was anxious to commit the paper to his view. The proprietor calmly took the conflicting editorials, called for scissors and paste-pot, and proceeded to adjust the matter. "I do not care a blank for the blank French, nor a blank blank for the blank Dutch, but in the runnin' of a newspaper things has got to consist," he said. And the next morning there appeared an extraordinary editorial. One sentence favored the French, another the Germans, and the whole wound up with a semicolon!

How far this tendency goes you may discover if you go abroad and live in any European or South American country. Pick up a French paper, for instance, and read the news of America, week in and week out, as it is published there, and you will necessarily conclude that the life of this country is made up wholly of lynchings, murders, railway accidents, and scandals. The great sweep of American life, the great trend of American thought, the marvelous things we are doing for the betterment of mankind, are reflected nowhere.

I once sat at luncheon with the editor of the Paris *Figaro*, Gaston Calmette. That day his paper had contained what purported to be a cable message from New York, recounting in thrilling phrase the story of a massacre of a large company of people by Indians on Broadway. I asked him why he published so absurd a tale. "Ah," said he, "there are sixty thousand brainless

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women in Paris. They are the demi-monde. They read *Figaro* and these silly things amuse them. Our name is *Figaro*. We are not a newspaper and have no responsibility as such."

And perhaps you will permit me to say that this sort of journalism is, after all, not the most profitable sort of journalism. I have had some experience in this business, and that experience demonstrated conclusively that the publication of real information brought subscribers in large numbers, and the class of subscribers which it brought became fast friends of my newspaper. Seeking to secure a proper perspective of the world's happenings, I dismissed the episodes of the hour in short measure and set out to learn and to present the things which the world was doing in the field of science, of ethics, of politics, of economics. I found that a responsive chord was touched at once.

We are a peculiar people. Drawn from all quarters of the globe, with many millions having no just conception of the mission ordained for this Republic with racial prejudices which are natural and inevitable, we as a people are facing problems of tremendous import. It is imperative that somebody, somehow, shall do some thinking. And I cannot help believing that there is a great body of the people who would like to do this thinking if they had only a chance.

I suppose it is true that, as a rule, we are superficial. The late Price Collier wrote a book in which, in speaking of another people, he said, "They are great nibblers intellectually"; and this seems to be true of us. T. P. O'Connor once said, when I asked him what he thought of the citizens of this country, that they seemed to him to be "the finest half-educated race on earth."

One of the reasons for our deplorable superficiality may be traced to the wonderful development of intercommunication in recent years. It is only a little more than half a century since our range of vision was limited

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to our immediate neighborhood. Now by the extension of the telegraph, the cable, and wireless transmission the remotest corners of the world are brought close to us and we are as familiar with the activities of mankind everywhere. Every man, indeed, is akin to Goldsmith's teacher:

> . . . And still the wonder grew,
> That one small head could carry all he knew.

In such circumstances it is impossible that we should dip very deep into the Pierian spring.

Are we doing all we can to better such a condition, which I am sure you must admit is an unfortunate one? The newspaper has practically driven out of existence in this country the review; even the magazines are devoted, as a rule, to fiction of the most inconsequential character; even in the newspaper, in large measure, editorial opinion has disappeared. Where, then, I ask you, shall you turn for a serious, thoughtful consideration of any public question? May I suggest that I believe there is a great longing on the part of many people for real information, and that I believe it would prove profitable to attempt to minister to this desire? The vast multitude who assemble every year at the various Chautauqua meetings give some evidence of this.

Some years ago I made an investigation which disclosed the fact that if the foreign world were divided into nations of the size of the United States, each such nation would have but eighty daily newspapers, while we had twenty-four hundred, and if you consider the circulation of our newspapers, the figures become even more striking. We issue a daily paper for every three of our citizens above ten years of age who can read. We issue some sort of a newspaper, daily, weekly, or monthly three times a week for every human being in the land. In this day the words of the Psalmist have surely come true:

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Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge.
There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.
Their line is gone out through all the earth, their words to the end of the world.

It follows from what I have said that I think it is as reporters and not as advisers or as entertainers that we rise to our highest stature. And to be a good reporter requires a great education. There is nothing more pitiable than the attempt of an ignoramus to write an abstract of an intelligent speech or to interpret an intelligent man's ideas in an interview. It is equally lamentable to observe a stupid half-baked youngster struggling to report any event involving knowledge of a national or an international question. In American journalism of to-day we have a great army of these so-called reporters, but we rarely have real reporters. An intelligent reporter is far more valuable than an intelligent editor. It will be a great day for American journalism when this fact is generally recognized, when a public man will have some assurance that his words and acts will be fairly and intelligently presented, when the average reporter will show by his deportment that, as Orlando puts it, he has

> Ever been where bells have knell'd to church,
> Has ever sat at any good man's feast.

A little less impertinence is most desirable. The arrogant, bumptious reporter, strutting about in borrowed plumes, gets far less news for his newspaper than the self-respecting and well-mannered one. The business is a legitimate one and the reporter who is a gentleman and conducts himself as such rarely finds it difficult to secure all the information he is entitled to. So much for his education in manners.

As to his education in matter, there is an old Latin adage which applies. It is, "*De omni re scibili et quibus-*

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dam aliis." Rendered into modern newspaper English, it would mean that he should be possessed of all knowledge of everything, and then some, besides. He cannot know too much. If he is to succeed and rise to any distinction in our profession he must have the unremitting toil of a Trappist monk. He should be serious-minded and should read serious and informative things. He should be a great reader. And yet he should not read everything. Some day, perhaps, we shall have for his benefit something like the "Spugs," and it shall be called the S. P. U. R., the Society for the Prevention of Useless Reading. There have just been issued two volumes upon "American and English Studies," by the late Whitelaw Reid, who was one of the Advisory Board of this school. In a paper on journalism as a career and speaking of a school of journalism, he suggested that the first thing that one should study was a history of the political parties of his own country, and, second, a comprehensive knowledge of the entire history of the country; third, an acquaintance with the general history of the world; fourth, a general knowledge of the fundamental principles of common constitutional and international law, and thereafter such knowledge and familiarity with political economy, exact reasoning upon any subject, foreign languages and *belles-lettres* as he might acquire. Such a training alone will qualify a man to be a good reporter, whether in the ordinarily accepted view of the reporter, that he is a runabout for items, or in the larger view that he is conducting a newspaper.

I have indicated to you my belief that the highest and best form of news was informative in its character; that we should be writing the real history of the world, and that so far as may be we should dismiss the episode and the tittle-tattle. I know there is a present rage for so-called "human-interest stories." It is not a new form of mania. More than a hundred years ago a statesman who was accounted the most eloquent American from the beginning of our country to the days of Daniel Webster,

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Mr. Fisher Ames, discussed this question with great intelligence. May I read you what he said:

It seems as if newspaper wares were made to suit a market, as much as any other. The starers and wonderers and gapers engross a very large share of the attention of all the sons of the type. Extraordinary events multiply upon us surprisingly. Gazettes, it is seriously to be feared, will not long allow room to anything that is not loathsome or shocking. A newspaper is pronounced to be very lean and destitute of matter if it contains no accounts of murders, suicides, tragedies, or monstrous births.

Some of these tales excite horror, and others disgust; yet the fashion reigns, like a tyrant, to relish wonders, and almost to relish nothing else. Is this a reasonable case? Is the history of Newgate the only one worth reading? Are oddities only to be hunted? Pray tell us, men of ink, if our presses are to diffuse information, and we, the poor ignorant people, can get it in no other way than by newspapers, what knowledge are we to glean from the blundering lies or the tiresome truths about thunder-storms which, strange to tell, kill oxen, or burn barns; and cats that bring two-headed kittens; and sows that eat their own pigs?

Surely extraordinary events have not the best title to our studious attention. To study nature or man, we ought to know things that are in the ordinary course, not the unaccountable things that happen out of it.

This country is said to measure seven hundred millions of acres, and is inhabited by almost six millions of people. Who can doubt, then, that a great many things will happen every seven years? There will be thunder-showers that will split tough white oak trees; and hail-storms that will cost some farmers the full amount of twenty shillings to mend their glass windows; there will be taverns, and boxing matches, and elections, gouging and drinking, and love and murder, and running in debt, and running away, and suicides. Now, if a man supposes eight or ten, or twenty dozen of these amusing events will happen in a single year, is he not just as wise as another man who reads fifty columns of amazing particulars, and, of course, knows that they have happened? This state has almost one hundred thousand dwelling-houses; it would be strange if all of them would escape fire for twelve months. Yet is it very profitable for a man to become a deep student of all the accidents by which they are consumed? He should take good care of his chimney corner, and put a fender before the backlog, before he goes to bed. Having done this, he may let his aunt or grandmother read by day, or meditate by night, the terrible newspaper articles of fires; how a man dropped asleep reading a romance and the bed-clothes took

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fire; how a boy searching in a garret for a hoard of nuts kindled some flax; and how a mouse, warming his tail, caught it on fire and carried it into his hole in the floor.

Now what instruction is there in these endless wonders? Who is the wiser or happier for reading the accounts of them? On the contrary, do they not shock tender minds and addle shallow brains? They make a thousand old maids, and eight or ten thousand booby boys, afraid to go to bed alone. Worse than this happens, for some eccentric minds are turned to mischief by such accounts as they receive of troops of incendiaries burning our cities; the spirit of imitation is contagious and boys are found unaccountably bent to do as men do. When the man flew from the steeple of the North Church fifty years ago every unlucky boy thought of nothing but flying from a sign-post.

Every horrid story in a newspaper produces a shock; but, after some time, this shock lessens. At length, such stories are so far from giving pain that they rather raise curiosity and we desire nothing so much as the particulars of terrible tragedies.

Now, Messrs. Printers, I pray the whole honorable craft to banish as many murders, and horrid accidents, and monstrous births, and prodigies from their gazettes as their readers will permit them, and by degrees to coax them back to contemplate life and manners; to consider common events with some common sense; and to study Nature where she can be known, rather than in those of her ways where she really is, or is represented to be, inexplicable.

Strange events are facts, and as such should be mentioned but with brevity and in a cursory manner. They afford no ground for popular reasoning or instructions; and, therefore, the horrid details that make each particular hair stiffen and stand upright in the reader's head ought not to be given. In short, they must be mentioned; but sensible printers and sensible readers will think that way of mentioning them the best that impresses them least on the public attention, and that hurries them on the most swiftly to be forgotten.

I am impressed that this address could have been delivered with great profit in this very hour. What we need are newspapers having such vision that they are able to present a fair perspective of the really important things that are happening in the world, to whom, for instance, the chaotic condition in Mexico is of some more moment than the Nan Patterson case in New York. You remember the tale from the *Arabian Nights*—how one of the Barmecides was visited by a poor, common,

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starving fellow, who asked for something to eat, and how the Potentate laid before him an imaginary feast, which seemed to include every known delicacy, but which, after all, provided no real nourishment. I ask you if, in the drift of the times, there is not some tendency to provide such a Barmecide's feast for newspaper readers in this country?

Take this Mexican situation—one of the most absorbing to the American people. How many newspapers have gone to the bottom of it? How many reporters are qualified to go to the bottom of it? Who will tell you that the chaos in that so-called republic is the logical and inevitable consequence of its history for the last fifty years; that whenever a great dominant character, such as Porfirio Diaz, passes out, in the very nature of the case, the people are unready and unwilling to accept any one of his lieutenants, who has always been regarded as a lieutenant and who is still regarded as a lieutenant, as their master? Moreover, that with all the good that this wonderful man did for Mexico he failed in two conspicuous matters: he left the country with a vast illiterate citizenry, and he left the land undivided so that the peon has nowhere to lay his head. These are clearly the underlying causes of the present disturbance and it matters little who is President, there can be no permanent adjustment until the millions of acres now held by a few feudal lords are so divided that the peasantry will have a home and stake in the land, which will make it more profitable for him to be a loyal citizen than a bandit. Turn to last week's issue of the London *Graphic*, you will find that a like unrest for a like cause exists in England, and you will not have to wait long before you will find a like unrest for a like cause in Hungary.

Take the agitation which is now going on in China, led by a student of this University, for a restoration of Confucianism as a state religion.

Take the case in South Africa just developed where

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race prejudice has opened up a great struggle between the white people and the East Indians, and note how difficult a problem is presented to the British Government.

Take the recent Clinical Congress of Surgeons in Chicago, where the latest achievements of that wonderful profession were discussed.

Take the current inquiry into our national finance and the high cost of living, and the question of equal suffrage for men and women. These are all questions of real human interest. They are all subjects furnishing news of the very highest order. As compared with them the antics of our friends at Newport, the proceedings of the divorce courts of Reno, a fire in Grand Street, or even a morning report of the Court of General Sessions, seem to me somewhat inconsequential. I know that I shall be answered that newspapers are made by the public and not by their editors, that if the public demands better things they will be given them. I am not sure that even from a purely commercial point of view this is correct. I am convinced that there is a great body of our citizens, much larger than is usually supposed, who would be better pleased with informative journalism than with purely entertaining journalism. I think an investigation of the newspapers of the United States will clearly prove this. As a rule the profitable and influential newspapers devote a great deal of their space to matter of an informative character.

But lest I be entirely misunderstood, let me repeat that a newspaper to be successful should be entertaining, but mere entertainment should not be its final end and aim. Moreover, I believe in sensational journalism. To be news at all a thing must be sensational. I use the word "sensational" with what I conceive to be its correct meaning. It is the unusual, the startling quality to any information which makes it news. A Methodist minister may rise in his pulpit every Sunday morning for forty years and preach the gospel in conformity with

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the tenets of his church and it will not be news at all; but if he rises one morning and preaches heresy it becomes news. Criminal information published merely because it is a story of crime, if those implicated are people of no consequence and the crime is commonplace in its character, is not news. But the story of the recent murder trial in Kieff, Russia, was of enormous worth, and rightfully was of great news value. I think the publication of it saved hundreds of lives. I have no doubt that if the old methods in Russia still obtained, and if the trial of Beiliss had been a secret one, he probably would have been convicted, and there would have followed a massacre of the Jews. I think such a massacre would have followed even his acquittal but for the publicity given to the case, and I firmly believe in the moral value of mere news-publishing. No great harm or wrong can come to the sons of men for any great length of time anywhere on this rolling globe if you but let in the light of publicity.

Much may be said, and fairly, in criticism of our journalism, of a lack of perspective on the part of our journalists, of the pushing to the front of inconsequential things, of exaggeration and inaccuracy, but I think it fair to say, after all, that with rare exceptions American newspaper men generally are striving for a common end—for an honest, truthful, and dignified history of the day's doings—which shall be helpful and uplifting. That the ignorance of a great many reporters is a grievous fault, and that we are sometimes less mindful of our obligations than we should be, still there is truth in the old Spanish proverb that

> The printed part, tho' far too large, is less
> Than that which yet unprinted waits the press.

There is a voice that comes to us from the grave upon this subject, the distinguished Founder of this school, who, notwithstanding the fact that he was the subject

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of the saddest affliction that is possible to come to an editor, and because of this affliction could not read his own paper, gave to us an editorial page to which there was no superior in the country. Mr. Joseph Pulitzer has left us for our guidance and instruction a paper of extraordinary value, revealing aspirations which must command the profound regard of all.

"We are embarked," says he, "whether we like it or not, upon a revolution in thought and life. Progress is sweeping forward with accelerating force, outstripping in decades the advance of former centuries and millenniums. All professions, all occupations but one, are keeping step with this majestic march. Its inspiration has fired all ranks of the marching army—or must we except the standard-bearers? The self-constituted leaders and enlighteners of the people—what are they doing? Standing still, lost in self-admiration, while the hosts march by? Are they even doing as well as that? Is it not a fact that the editors of seventy years ago were, as a rule, better informed in law, politics, government, and history than those of to-day? The statesmen and lawyers and political students who used to do editorial work for ambition or intellectual pleasure have ceased to frequent the newspaper offices.

"Our Republic and its press will rise or fall together. An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and a mockery. A cynical, mercenary, demagogic, corrupt press will produce in time a people as base as itself. The power to mold the future of the Republic will be in the hands of the journalists of future generations."

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UNTO WHOMSOEVER MUCH IS GIVEN*

By Melville E. Stone

For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.—*St. Luke* xii:48.

THIS is my text and by your leave I propose to preach a little sermon on what our friend Colonel Roosevelt has aptly called the "old moralities." Your distinguished Mr. Charles M. Sheldon has given some justification for me. I could only wish that I might acquit myself as well in his profession as he did in ours,† but this obviously may not be.

We newspaper men are clearly of those to whom much has been given, to whom men have committed much. It is our truthful boast that we belong to a privileged class. It was not always so. A struggle of two centuries was necessary to achieve the liberty of the press. Under the old theory of government, when the view was that the citizens were created for the government and not the government for the citizens, obviously there could be

* An address before the Kansas State Editorial Association, at Lawrence, Kansas, April 9, 1912. Reprinted in the volume, "The Coming Newspaper"; edited by Merle Thorpe and published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1915. Copyright, 1915, by Henry Holt & Co., and reprinted here with their courteous permission.

† In 1900, Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, a well-known pastor of Topeka, Kansas, author of "In His Steps," conducted the Topeka *Daily Capital* for one week in the manner which he thought ought to characterize a "Christian daily newspaper."

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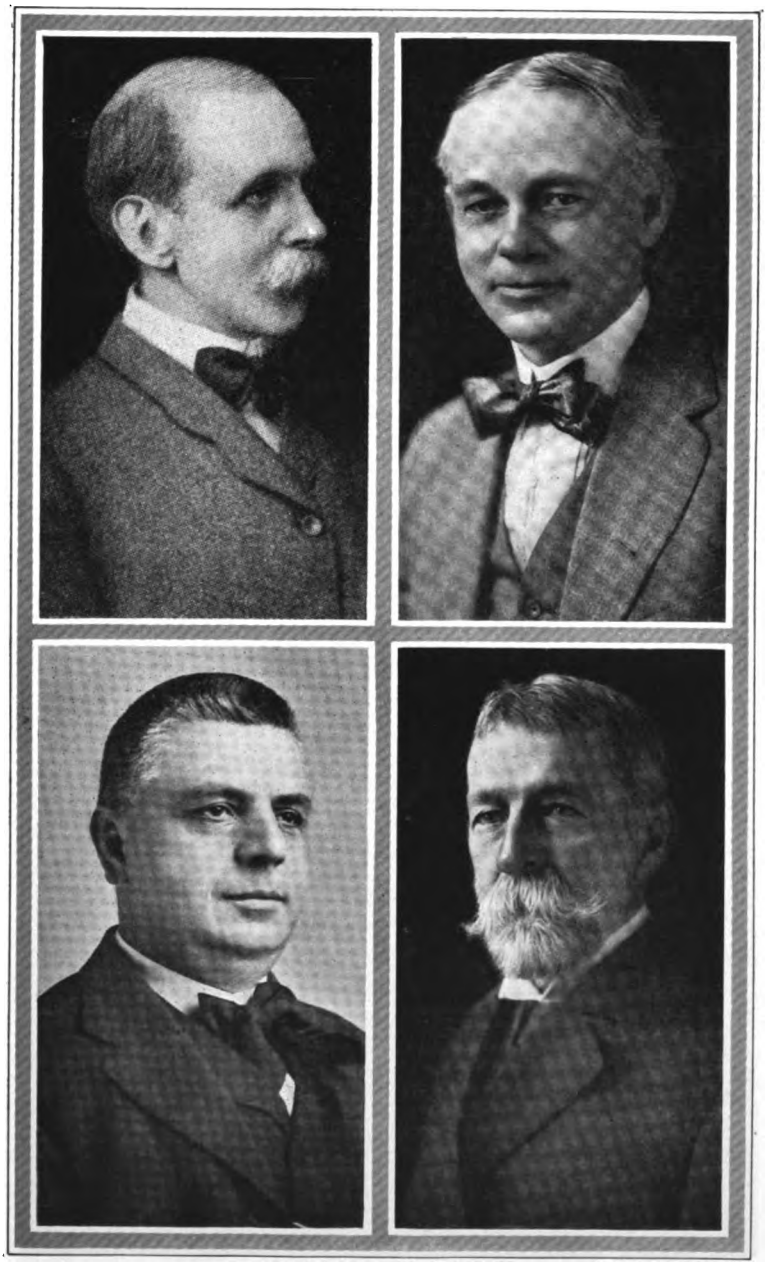

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no free speech and no free press. But back in Holland another view originated, that not only did governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, but that indeed the true principle went beyond that, and that governments could only rightfully exist as the agents through which the individual citizen should be guaranteed and protected in the largest liberty of action consistent with his relation to his fellow-men. Government then became but a social contract. A necessary corollary of this freedom of the citizen and of this theory of government by and for the people was a free press. It was old John Milton, who, after visiting Holland and catching the spirit of that country, wrote his wonderful plea for unlicensed printing and set in motion the struggle which lasted for two centuries and culminated on our own soil in the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that there should never be anything done to abridge the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. Twice the State Constitution framed in Massachusetts was offered to the people and rejected because it contained no provision guaranteeing a free press. The fathers thus saw very early how essential the freedom of the press was, and while we fully concur in that view, I think we must all admit that it is not an unmixed good. A distinguished French commentator, De Tocqueville, who wrote one of the best *critiques* upon American democracy, speaking of the press, said that it "constitutes a singular power so strangely composed of good and evil that liberty could not live without it and public order could hardly be maintained against it." Even to-day there be those who think the balance of evil lies against a free press. And do not imagine, please, that nothing can be said on that side of the question. Let me present to you the view of a very distinguished European statesman, recently deceased.

Pobyedonostseff, the eminent Russian reactionary, said:

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Any vagabond babbler or unacknowledged genius, any enterprising tradesman, with his own money, or with the money of others, may found a newspaper, even a great newspaper. He may attract a host of writers and *feuilletonists*, ready to deliver judgment on any subject at a moment's notice; he may hire illiterate reporters to keep him supplied with rumors and scandals. His staff is then complete. From that day he sits in judgment on all the world, on ministers and administrators, on literature and art, on finance and industry. It is true that the new journal becomes a power only when it is sold on the market—that is, when it circulates among the public. For this talent is needed, and the matter published must be attractive and congenial for the readers. Here, we might think, was some guarantee of the moral value of the undertaking—men of talent will not serve a feeble or contemptible editor or publisher; the public will not support a newspaper which is not a faithful echo of public opinion.

This guarantee is fictitious. Experience proves that money will attract talent under any conditions, and that talent is ready to write as its paymaster requires. Experience proves that the most contemptible persons—retired money-lenders, Jewish factors, newsvenders, and bankrupt gamblers—may found newspapers, secure the services of talented writers and place their editions on the market as organs of public opinion. The healthy taste of the public is not to be relied upon. The great mass of readers, idlers for the most part, is ruled less by a few healthy instincts than by a base and despicable hankering for idle amusement, and the support of the people may be secured by any editor who provides for the satisfaction of these hankerings, for the love of scandal, and for intellectual pruriency of the basest kind. Of this we meet with evidence daily; even in our capital no search is necessary to find it; it is enough to note the supply and demand of the news-venders' shops and at the railway stations.

Such a paper may flourish, attain consideration as an organ of public opinion, and be immensely remunerative to its owners, while no paper conducted upon firm moral principles or founded to meet the healthier instincts of the people could compete with it for a moment.

Finally he delivers this last blow at what he considers the irresponsibility of the journalist:

For the journalist, with a power comprehending all things, requires no sanction. He derives his authority from no election, he receives support from no one. His newspaper becomes an authority in the State, and for this authority no indorsement is required.

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The man in the street may establish such an organ and exercise the concomitant with an irresponsibility enjoyed by no other power in the world. That this is in no way exaggeration there are innumerable proofs. How often have superficial and unscrupulous journalists paved the way for revolution, fomented irritation into enmity, and brought about desolating wars? For conduct such as this a monarch would lose his throne, a minister would be disgraced, impeached, and punished; but the journalist stands dry above the waters he has disturbed, from the ruin he has caused he rises triumphant and briskly continues his destructive work.

Its defenders assure us that the Press itself heals the wounds it has inflicted; but any thinking mind can see that these are mere idle words. The attacks of the Press on individuals may cause irreparable injury. Retraction and explanations can in no way give them full satisfaction. Not half of those who read the denunciatory article will read the apology or the explanation, and in the minds of the mass of frivolous readers insulting or calumnious suggestions leave behind an ineffaceable stain. Criminal prosecution for defamation is but the feeblest defense, and civil action seldom succeeds in exposing the offender, while it subjects the offended to fresh attack. The journalist, moreover, has a thousand means of wounding and terrifying individuals without furnishing them with sufficient grounds for legal prosecution.

But it is not necessary for you to go so far afield to find much criticism of our free press. In an article in the April issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* Mr. Hobhouse, a well-known English writer, speaks of some of the prime evils of America and says that one of them is that the press is engaged in misleading the electorate. I listened with great interest a few weeks ago to a speech by an eminent United States Senator, who is also a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, in which he inveighed at length against the American newspaper as being controlled by improper influences. In a very illuminating volume which has just issued from the press under the title of "The New Democracy," a brilliant writer devotes a chapter to the newspaper, and his criticism is a very sharp one. He alleges that there are a large number of newspapers controlled by corrupt interests; another large number are in the hands of their advertisers, and in general he supports the view sug-

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gested by Mr. Hobhouse that we do mislead the electorate.

Now, all this is very serious. These charges are not to be dismissed without consideration. We are bound by every obligation of propriety to enter upon an examination to determine whether we are meeting our obligations. "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required." Broadly, I do not believe that the claim of Senator La Follette or that of Mr. Weyl, author of "The New Democracy," can be sustained. I suppose there is no one in this country who has such opportunity for information respecting the ownership of the daily press as I have. I should say that the number of newspapers directly owned by what are known as "the interests" is very small. Repeated efforts have been made by men of great wealth and having large interests to buy and conduct newspapers for the purpose of affecting public opinion. But in almost every instance these efforts have failed; and for reasons which I hope I may be able to make plain to you.

Mr. Jay Gould once owned a daily newspaper in New York, and after a short and inglorious career with it, was glad to sell for a greatly reduced price. Something like thirty years ago Mr. Cyrus Field bought an evening paper to protect his railway interests, and made an attempt to run it. It was the New York *Mail and Express*. Of course, it was not long before he discovered that he could not make the thing work. He then offered to sell me a half-interest with the understanding that I should pay for it out of the paper's earnings. I asked who would be associated with me, and he replied that he would keep the other half himself. I was forced to say that without any desire to be offensive I could not buy into the paper at all if he were to remain in it, even with a minority. A newspaper cannot succeed if it is to be made the means toward an ulterior end.

I know a limited number of newspapers in this country which are to-day owned by large interests; but, as I

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have said, the number is very small and the papers are entirely inconsequential and practically powerless to accomplish anything of evil for their proprietors. Nine-tenths of the American newspapers are conducted for the purpose of making money for their proprietors by legitimate means—through subscriptions and advertising. While the last thing in the world which I propose to do is to claim perfection for the American newspaper, yet I do not think that the charge that as a body the newspaper editors in this country are trying to mislead the electorate, or that they are engaged in any sinister design, is true. With rare exceptions they are honest and conscientious, and whatever failings they have, I believe, lean to virtue's side. A writer, attempting to prove that they are improperly influenced, sets up the claim that they are under the control of large advertisers. This certainly cannot mean that what are known as "the interests" are influencing them, because notoriously "the interests" do not advertise in the daily newspapers. The writer, then, is forced to say that editors are suppressing suicides and scandals at the request of the proprietors of department stores, and, finally, he thinks that this suppression, although done at the request of an advertiser, is in the interest of good morals, for the scandals themselves should not be printed. Then, if this criticism were true, it means little because the department stores as a class throughout the country have no community of interest with what are known as "the interests." They constitute no political factor and the views of the proprietors upon public questions are probably as divergent as those of any other class of people in the country.

The next charge is that the American newspaper has become commercialized because the control has gone from the editorial chair to the counting-room. I think there is some ground for this statement, although the criticism is far less important than it seems to those who make it. It has always been the rule that newspapers have been

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controlled from their counting-rooms and that the editorial force has been made up of hired men. I say this has been the rule. There have been exceptions and very notable ones. Such exceptions were the cases of the elder James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, Joseph Medill, Murat Halstead, Richard Smith, and Joseph McCullagh. Yet, after all, in two cases alone among those I have cited did the editor, while dominating the paper, own an actual control of its stock. There is something about the business which makes it practically impossible for one man to combine the qualities of editor and business manager. In a certain sense success in the editorial department disqualifies a man for success in the counting-room. Now and then in the theatrical profession you will find a man who seems to have a versatility which enables him to be a successful actor-manager, but even there the cases are rare. Even Henry Irving died a bankrupt because of his lack of business efficiency. And so editor-publishers have never been numerous. The London *Times*, while owned for a century and a quarter by the Walters family, was edited by employees. To-day the London *Times* is largely owned by men who do no writing and, indeed, who have no practical knowledge of journalism. The London *Daily News* is owned by the Cadburys, the cocoa men. Neither the London *Chronicle*, nor the London *Standard*, nor any other London daily, so far as I am advised, is edited by its owner. In this country, also, even of the list of great editors of whom I have spoken only one or two died leaving any personal fortune. This, I think, is to be said to their credit. I think it might be desirable that the editorial department of the American newspaper outweigh the counting-room in importance in the newspaper office. I believe if it did, and the influence were intelligently exercised, it would bring better results from a purely business point of view.

And this brings me to the thing I desire most to speak

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of. Addressing, as I am, men of my own craft, men engaged in a business to which I have devoted my life, perhaps you will indulge me while I make some practical suggestions respecting what I feel to be the ideal newspaper, and respecting some of the things which I feel we, as newspaper men, should do to meet our obligations to the public. Perhaps I can do no better than to tell you something of my own experience.

In 1875, with practically no money, I founded the Chicago *Daily News*. I laid down a course of conduct which it seemed to me must bring success, and I am glad to say that it did. And yet the rules adopted at that time were in force in very few newspaper offices in the country, and unhappily I think they are not all in force to-day in many newspaper offices. The first was that the newspaper should be run distinctly in the interest of the public and that the subscriber should have chief consideration. It was recognized that a newspaper has in its editorial department three offices to perform: First, to print the news; second, to strive to guide public opinion in a proper direction, and, third, to furnish entertainment. I use this order because I believe it to be the correct one. I believe it to be a business mistake to invert this order and to make the entertainment of the reader of supreme importance. I think the business of guiding public opinion, while it involves a large responsibility, is, after all, secondary. Following this order the proper presentation of news was the first thing of consequence. The news was put upon the first page of the paper, the most conspicuous place, and an effort made to present a true perspective of the world's real developing history. There was an unbreakable rule that nothing should appear in the columns of the paper which a young woman could not read aloud in the presence of a mixed company. My belief was and is that this was a proper rule on purely business grounds. We had a paper in Chicago printing scandals, and while it achieved a very considerable circulation, it was not admitted to homes

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and therefore its value as an advertising sheet was of little consequence. Another rule was that the paper should make every effort to see that its news was truthful and impartial, and if at any time we were led into a misstatement, nothing gave me greater pleasure than to make a fair, frank, and open acknowledgment and apology. I know that in many newspaper offices there is an attempt to convince the public of the editor's infallibility. I think this is a mistake. A reputation for integrity can be achieved and has enormous value. A reputation for infallibility is hardly possible. The editor cannot deceive his readers or the public. The newspaper makes a reputation precisely as the citizen does. If your fellow-citizen makes a misstatement about you and promptly, frankly, and fully retracts and apologizes, he grows in your esteem. If, on the other hand, with knowledge that he has made a misstatement, he refuses to apologize and retract, he grows in your contempt. And this is equally true of the newspaper.

These were two rules. First, that the news should have first place, and, second, that it should be truthful news, or if not truthful, there should be perfect readiness to retract and correct so far as possible. The effect of the printed word is very great and any conscientious editor must recognize that, do what he will, he can never make full atonement for a misstatement affecting the character of any man.

The third rule divorced the business and editorial departments absolutely. No line of paid reading matter ever appeared in the columns of the paper. This was adhered to religiously. Everything in the form of advertising was printed as advertising, so that the reader could instantly detect it. Such were the rules respecting the news service.

Turning to the business department, the rules were equally stringent. It was recognized that advertising was a legitimate business. Our theory was that every one was free to advertise or not, precisely as he was free

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to buy groceries at a grocery store or dry-goods at a dry-goods store. The claim sometimes set up by newspaper proprietors that the advertiser is under some sort of an obligation to advertise smacks of blackmail. In the early days of the paper it was by no means an uncommon thing for the business department to tell a man frankly that he had better not advertise in the *Daily News*. For instance, if a man called at the office with an advertisement to sell a stationary engine, he would be told that while we were in the business of advertising and would be glad to have his advertisement, if he inserted it in the *Daily News* he would have to pay for a circulation of nine, ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand, whatever the circulation was, and that of the readers of the *Daily News*, it was not likely that a dozen would be in want of a stationary engine. He was therefore advised to take his advertisement to a paper like the *American Machinist*, where he would find a large proportion of the readers possible purchasers. He was told that if at any time he had something to advertise which the *Daily News* could properly and profitably serve, he was invited to return. You may be sure he returned.

With the earliest issue, the actual paid circulation day by day was printed at the head of the editorial column and sworn to. This was a very uncommon thing in that day. Indeed, I do not know of any other paper in the United States that did it. My belief was that the advertiser should be perfectly free to advertise or not to advertise, and that if he did want to advertise he had the same right to know the extent and the character of the circulation of the paper that you would have if you entered a dry-goods store to buy prints and demanded to know whether they were fast colors, and yard wide, or not.

You had no right to expect him to buy a pig in a bag. Our aim was, therefore, to give the fullest possible information and to invite the advertiser to verify our statements by any method that might suggest itself.

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Inasmuch as we regarded the reader as of more value than the advertiser, and inasmuch as our first duty, as we conceived it, was to the reader, while aiming to deal fairly with the advertiser at all times, we insisted that he should take second place. We therefore made it an inflexible rule that all locations of advertising must be at publisher's option, and we made no contracts whatever for "top of the column next to reading matter." In the make-up of the paper the news matter was always considered paramount and the advertising relegated to a less important place.

The rule was also absolute that there should be no cutting of rates under any circumstances. I had an amusing experience in connection with this matter. After Mr. Victor Lawson joined me as a partner he took charge of the business end of the concern, while I conducted the editorial end. Mr. Lawson's views and mine were in thorough accord. The paper was young and struggling. One day the junior partner in a leading house in Chicago called and said that he would make a long-time contract for advertising if we would cut our lowest rate ten per cent. I replied:

"Cutting rates is a thing we have never done in the history of the paper and have said we would never do; that is, we would never discriminate between advertisers. But I recognize the importance of your house and am willing to contract with you on one condition. As a matter of fact we have but one rate, so that there is no lowest rate. Our rates are printed and are uniform. Yet I will make you a ten-per-cent. reduction on these rates upon this one condition: that you make part of the contract that my wife may buy dry-goods at your store ten per cent. cheaper than any other woman in Chicago and allow me to print that fact."

"Good heavens!" he replied, "that would ruin us. We run a one-price store."

He left in dudgeon, but within a week made a contract upon the established rates.

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Another rule of the office forbade any effort to exploit the growth of the paper; either the fact that it had beaten some other paper on news or that its circulation had shown a phenomenal growth, or that it had printed more advertising this year than last. The only reference we ever made to circulation in our editorial columns was when the circulation fell off and not when it increased. We left the readers and the public to judge for themselves whether as a newspaper, or as an advertising medium, the *Daily News* was valuable. I believe, and have always believed, that the constant shouting in a newspaper, "See how we are growing," or, "See how our advertising increases," is no more intelligent, nor more effective, than it would be for an individual to be forever parading on the street and in the company of his friends his own views of his own importance.

As to the editorial department proper, that in which we attempted to influence public opinion, we made it a rule at the outset that neither Mr. Lawson nor myself should buy or own stock in any public utilities corporation affecting Chicago, and we made earnest effort to convince the people that we were honest. We found that the easiest way to do this was to *be* honest. We had no axes to grind, no friends to reward, and no enemies to punish. Out of that policy, and it was a policy which contemplated building a paper not for to-day nor for to-morrow, but for the long future, came a steady development and growth, until I think admittedly the earnings of the paper to-day exceed those of any other in the United States.

Now passing from that experience to The Associated Press, in which I think you are all interested. In 1893, without any solicitation or even thought on my part of such a thing, The Western Associated Press met in Chicago and appointed a committee to ask me to take the general managership. An issue had been joined upon what I conceived to be a great principle. The leading news-gathering organization at the time was The

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United Press, a proprietary institution controlled by three men, Mr. William M. Laffan, Mr. John R. Walsh, and Mr. Walter P. Phillips. Without any reflection whatever on the fitness of these three men, I felt that such a condition was a menace in this country, and we at once reorganized The Western Associated Press, made it a national organization, and set out to establish a co-operative news-gathering association which should be owned, controlled, and censored by the newspapers themselves. It should be an association of the papers, for the papers, and by the papers.

I should be very glad if The Associated Press, its purposes and its practices, were better understood. I mean better understood by both reader and editor. The institution bears a very important relation to American life, and is, I am sure, well worth your study. Its telegrams are printed primarily in over eight hundred daily newspapers, and are copied or rewritten in unnumbered thousands of other daily, weekly, or monthly publications. It is doubtless safe to say they are read by over three-fourths of the people of the land, and that from the intelligence they convey practically every one gathers his information respecting current events.

I am sure you will all agree that it is important, to use no stronger word, that your market reports, for example, be trustworthy. Well, what assurance have you, not only that the reports of The Associated Press are honest, but that, out of the necessities of the case, they must be more certain of accuracy than any other market reports?

One good reason grows out of the magnitude of the Association's work. I know there are persons who think it would be better to have a half-dozen small agencies acting in sharp competition, but I venture to suggest that this is a mistake. Such rivalry would doubtless tend to the greatest celerity in gathering the news. But such rivalry would not, from any point of view, tend to greater accuracy. And it is far less important that you

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get prompt news than that you get true news. However desirable it may be to be first in the field in the presentation of news, and I do not undervalue this feature of our work, still I regard its reputation for truthfulness and strict impartiality as the best asset of The Associated Press.

And I insist that no smaller agency can possibly give as great a guarantee for accuracy or impartiality. First, there are the traditions of half a century which must be lived up to. This spirit, which animates every one in the service, is a good deal, but naturally it is not all. More important is the fact that every telegram of The Associated Press is subjected to such a degree of censorship as to make untruthful or biased reports practically impossible.

Every one familiar with our work knows that it is utterly impossible for any one in the service, from the general manager to the least important agent at the most remote point, to send out an untruthful despatch and escape detection. You may write a biased or inaccurate statement for a newspaper and "get away with it," but you cannot do it with the argus-eyed millions who read the despatches of The Associated Press. Obviously, then, the very magnitude of the Associated Press work tends to make truthfulness and impartiality in the service imperative. It cannot be used for private aims, to serve any special interest, or to help any political party or faction or propaganda. I am not laying claim to any great virtue. I am saying that, under its system of operation and in view of the millions of critics passing upon its work, The Associated Press is automatically truthful and fair. If you hear a man whining that The Associated Press is run in the interest of this party or that you may put it down that what he wants is not fair play, but a leaning his way.

As one evidence of the truthfulness of our reports, I direct your attention to the fact that during the life of the present organization we have never paid a dollar of

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damages in an action for libel, nor have we compromised any case.

Thus do we aim to keep in mind our obligation, "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

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"BLAZING THE TRAIL"*

By Melville E. Stone

SOME one, I don't know who, has assigned me this topic, "Blazing the Trail." I shall not quarrel with him, because it cannot but be suggestive of ideas. But I ask your leave to depart in some measure from the "bill of particulars" set out in your program. The topic seems to me to lend itself to a more expansive view than that which includes only the feats of journalism.

The century just closed was distinguished as one in which we were "blazing the trail" in every department of human activity. It was, far and away, the most notable century of all time. Nothing like it is known to history. Indeed, history itself first began to be intelligently written in the nineteenth century. I mean alike the history of the past, which then ceased to be a record of the achievements of rulers, and began to be a history of the doings of people; ceased to be a recounting of sieges and battles and began to be an inquiry into the great processes of evolution—and also the history of the times, which no longer found expression in the whispered and hushed gossip of the dinner-table and the street corner, but became the public and uncensored record by a free and untrammeled press.

Not only in this but in every department of literature was there a "blazing of the trail." While Dante, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Molière will ever occupy the highest pedestals in the literary Hall of Fame, it is not too much

*An address delivered before the Association of American Advertising Clubs at Grand Rapids, Michigan, June 16, 1911.

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to say that the golden ages of the Renaissance and of Elizabeth were both eclipsed by the general advancement of the past hundred years.

In the department of physical science the opening of the last century found us groping blindly for the significance of a few established phenomena. Galvani had given us a hint upon which Volta and Franklin and Faraday and Morse and Hertz and Field and Edison and Marconi builded, and the marvelous development of the electricity of our day is the result. Watt gave us steam, and the engine, the locomotive, the steamship, the automobile and the aeroplane were the logical sequences. A century ago the astronomers had located six planets; to-day they have catalogued over one hundred and six.

Gutenberg had given us movable types and a crude wooden hand-press to be used on hand-made paper; Robert Hoe gave us the fast press; a Cincinnati man the type-casting machine; Mergenthaler the linotype; Americans developed paper-making machinery, stereotyping, and the half-tone, and you have the typography of this hour. McCormick taught us how to reap our fields, and Whitney gave us the cotton-gin.

Surgery and medicine, as you and I know them, took origin in the nineteenth century. Lister and Morton and Pasteur and Koch, and the long line of men who have robbed disease of its terror with antiseptic and aseptic processes, with anesthesia, with cranial and abdominal researchings, and with counteracting toxins, are fresh in our minds. Comparative anatomy was unthought of until Goethe suggested it, and not only investigated the correspondence of the human body to the bodies of animals, but the surprising analogy in the vegetable kingdom.

While from the days of the Frisians and the Batavians, the Dutch had sounded the note for human liberty, and while in that little country of Holland, John Milton and John Robinson had caught the spirit which made pos-

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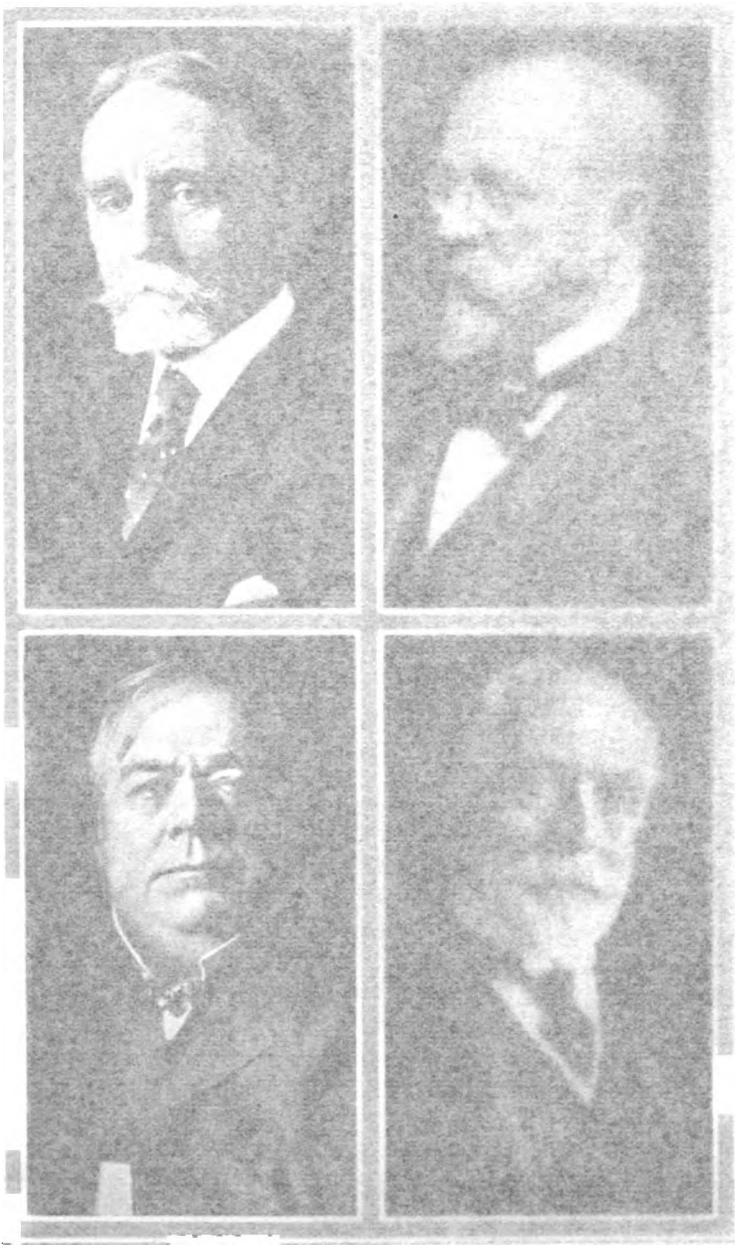

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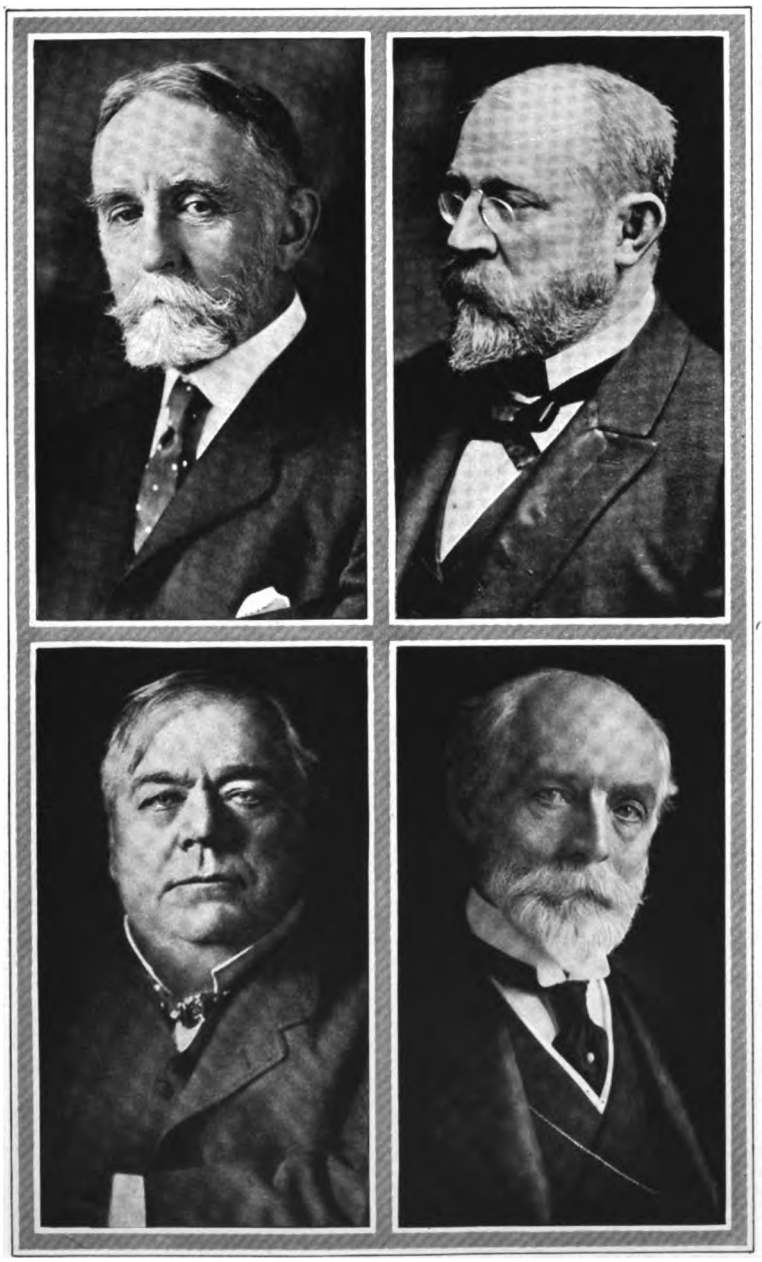

SAMUEL BOWLES
WILLIAM R. NELSON

ST. CLAIR McKELWAY
WHITELAW REID

FORMER DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS—III

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sible the Cromwellian revolution, the American revolution, and the French revolution, the seed sown came to fruition at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the American republic, which, for the first time in the history of the world, accepted the dogma that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and which provided for a nation where every citizen might think, speak, print, and worship God as he liked, and where his rights should be limited only to such obedience to law as should safeguard the rights of his fellow-citizens.

And how has the fruitage served for the nourishment of mankind? How has it passed over to Europe and destroyed the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and established the theory of the Divine Right of The People? How has the whole principle of government undergone a change? Some talk of Magna Charta and the English common law as the groundwork of our liberty. Far from it. The underlying principle of the English common law and our own jurisprudence are not unlike, but it is because they have a common parentage, the Pandects of Justinian, and not because one is borrowed from the other. As a matter of fact, we have given to England and all Europe a degree of liberty never enjoyed until the establishment and development of our republic.

Passing to the field of economics, it was natural that we should "blaze a trail." Europe was overcrowded. Here was a new country with a virgin soil and a band of adventurers. Lying between the fortieth and seventieth degrees of latitude, with a climate ranging from that of Rome to that of Norway, with a soil as rich as that of Holland, and reaching all the variants of all Europe, and with untold riches of field, of forest, and of mine awaiting the oncomer, there was offered temptation which it was more than human to resist. It has been said, and with some degree of truth, that behind every step in the world's progress lay the mer-

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cenary impulse. The Argonauts set sail for the Golden Fleece; the Pilgrims left Leyden to find a fishing-ground; the American Revolution started in the stamp-tax. It has been said that if Eli Whitney had not invented the cotton-gin and made cotton king, African slavery would have died out in this country, and we should have had no Rebellion. It may be that if you had gone to Castle Garden a hundred years ago and asked each immigrant why he had left Europe and come to our shores, he would have replied as did the men of '48, that he had come to find civil and religious liberty. But I think it is true that of all the millions who have come within the century, the vast majority came to share our riches.

Let us be fair about it. In that busy hour we all of us went wrong. In the words of the Prayer-Book: "There was no health in us." Selling needles and pins and slaving for dollars, we handed over the work of running the governments—national, state, county, city, and township—to those who had time and inclination to attend to such matters. So long as they did not bother us, we were content. They were making our laws "by wholesale." There never was so much law-making anywhere on earth. There was law-making to help the great interests and law-making to blackmail the great interests. We cared little, so long as we were not immediately and seriously or consciously hurt by the laws, and so long as we were let alone to make money in any of the ways that seemed at all permissible under the standards which everybody seemed to approve. If the laws happened to give us an unjust opportunity over our fellows in the business of money-getting—so much the better. And the courts, which were carrying out the laws, were hobbled with a vast number of contrivances. The roads they were to travel were fenced and barred by technicalities. George Thompson, the eminent English Abolitionist, visited this country, and was received with great cordiality in the Northern states. On his return, he spoke in Exeter Hall. A crusty man

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in his audience was offended at the complimentary things Mr. Thompson was saying, and cried out: "Have ye no criticism of these wonderful United States?" The speaker hesitated a moment, and then replied with solemnity: "Yes, they do not enforce their laws."

The thoughtful among us knew he was right, but we had no time for worry over it. We were "blazing the trail" that led to a pot of gold. We did not appreciate it, but we were enjoying the happiness of the unjust, of which the old Greek tragedy declared that "at its close it begat itself an offspring and did not die childless; and instead of good fortune, there sprouted forth for posterity—ever-ravening calamity."

For instance, the giving or receiving of railway rebates had always been dishonest, yet the railway manager who did not give them could declare no dividends, while the manufacturer who did not receive them was doomed to bankruptcy. So had we cheapened our laws, by the prodigality of their enactment and by the lax way in which we attempted their enforcement, that it was several years after the giving or taking of rebates was made illegal before any one thought of paying the slightest heed to the statute. Our whole public opinion went awry. What Herbert Spencer would have called the First Principles of commercial ethics were well-nigh obliterated. Acquiring, because of the public indifference, things which we should never have acquired, we soon came to believe that vested wrongs were vested rights.

With the inspiration before us, it was quite natural that we should go money-mad. The man who "blazed the trail," whether in building railroads, in chopping down forests, or in digging coal, or gold, was accounted the pioneer worthy of all approbation. And not without a certain measure of justice. But when the rewards of this pioneer labor reached stupendous proportions, and there was an absence of legal restraints, or even correct standards of commercial ethics, trouble began to brew. Keen-witted men saw that combination was more profit-

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able than competition. Again the state of the law favored them. In another department of life, men had been "blazing other trails" of which they could make use. For one thing, they had been developing the corporate form of ownership. The corporation had taken its origin in the King's Charter, and it was at first subject to the King's will and pleasure. A hundred years ago, there were precisely *six* corporations on this continent. The thing was practically an unknown factor in our life. It was too inconsequential to attract serious attention or to seem harmful. Also, it evidently presented many attractive and useful features. And so, in our happy-go-lucky way, we made no provision that this "King's Charter" should be in any wise responsible to the King. Corporations were formed at the sweet will of the incorporators, and although they derived all of their rights from the Government, it occurred to no one that they owed any reciprocal obligation. The six corporations of the beginning so grew in number in the century that to-day over 280,000 corporations, with an aggregate capital of approximately ninety billions of dollars, are paying the federal tax.

Another set of men were meanwhile "blazing the trail" to intercommunication. The railroad, the steamship, the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, and, more than all, the newspaper, were agencies which played a part. A century ago a man's immediate range of vision was a dozen miles. To-day he has reached, as Longfellow put it:

> . . . Those turrets where the eye
> Sees the world as one vast plain,
> And one boundless reach of sky.

We became as gods, seeing everything. The giant corporation, with a range of vision made possible by the development of intercommunication, and with the accepted view that corporate forms of ownership were entitled to the same freedom from the intervention of

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law as private ownership was, loomed on the foreground of our national life. The menace was all too evident. A crisis had been reached. Brave men struck out boldly, and public attention was arrested and the public conscience aroused. How far gone were we, however, on the road of popular indifference is evidenced by the fact that it has taken more than a decade to reach anything like a conclusive decision from our highest tribunal on the law which was passed to meet the issue. And even this decision is apparently far from final.

All of this means that a great problem is before us for solution. A new trail is to be blazed. It must lead, in my judgment, to a condition where we shall have statutes fewer, but much better enforced; where the cobwebs of technicality must be so swept from our court-rooms that "the law's delay and inefficiency" will be no longer the distinguishing feature of our jurisprudence; where the great economic problems with which we are confronted may find their solution as the result of the calm, dispassionate study of a thoughtful people, and once business men come to know their rights under the law, obedience shall be imperative. I have no thought of palliating, by anything I have said, the crimes which have been committed. Nor do I believe that our vigil for righteousness should be broken for one instant. But I believe that the work of the Jeremiahs has been done and well done; and that we now have some need of Nehemiahs to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. We have much need of the plain, modest, unobtrusive, yet effective guide-post, to point the way. It is to the "blazing of this new trail" that we all, journalists, business men, professional men, patriots, should address ourselves.

As was well said by James Russell Lowell:

New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth.
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires, we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.

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"THE LIGHT THAT DID NOT FAIL"*

By Melville E. Stone

WE ARE met to celebrate the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. It is a story which, though often told, can never grow stale. It is full of interest and profit, and constantly renewed interest and profit, wherever courage is approved, rectitude of life respected, liberty loved, or genuine manhood honored.

The present occasion has a unique value. We celebrate not only the end of the *Mayflower's* stormy voyage, but the fact that an even three hundred years ago, in August, 1608, John Robinson and his faithful band of disciples escaped to Holland; and it was three hundred years ago this very month that John Milton was born.

There is a never-ending fascination in the study of organic energy. The apparently indivisible atom, inconceivable because of its smallness, as well as the mightiest planet in the universe, equally inconceivable because of its vastness; also, every human thought and every moral aspiration—those strange impulses which seem to float into the brain and heart from a mysterious nowhere—all of these forces, both material and spiritual, are obedient to the will of the Great Master, doing His bidding and responsive to His intelligent Purpose.

The Puritan movement was a striking illustration of

* An address delivered at the dinner of the New England Society at Charleston, South Carolina, on Forefathers' Day, December 22, 1908.

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this fact. We are now able to look back through the ages and see how, step by step, the world had been unconsciously preparing for such a development. The uplift was slow, the road was tortuous, the struggle was hard, the battle was bloody, and the people were all unmindful of what they were doing. They little dreamed that in their lives, and the part that each one played, be it great or be it small, they were working out a solution of the mighty Problem which had been set for them. Such is the mysterious way in which God moves His wonders to perform.

Let us in a moment run over the centuries to see the chain of events which led up to the 21st of December, 1620—the shortest day of the year, that on which the sun shone its briefest hour—but a day pregnant of great issues and to furnish a flood of light to a benighted world. In the elder days, Confucius and Plato and Buddha had glimpses of the Divine. They had "groped blindly in the darkness and had almost touched God's right hand in that darkness." But it was reserved for Jesus of Nazareth to reveal to us the truth in respect of man's relation to his Maker, and his relation to his fellow-man. It was on the hills of Judea, and nowhere else, that we learned of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and of love as the mainspring of correct action.

In the largest sense, Christ came to his own and his own received him not. His rejection as the promised Messiah, his betrayal, and his tragic death, are of small consequence compared with the terrible fact that for the succeeding fourteen centuries his sublime teachings came to naught because of the world's refusal to understand or accept them as he would have wished. Scarcely was the scene on Calvary over before a changeling Christianity took the place of the rightful heir in the cradle of Civilization. Christ's own followers made the first mistake. Instead of teaching, as their Master had done, that devout thinking and devout living were the

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ends to be attained, they formulated their worship into the Church at Antioch, with its Bishops, and Elders, and Deacons, and thereafter the form began to answer for the substance. The so-called conversion of Constantine was a disaster, for then the unfortunate alliance of Church and State began. The power and stability of a government was, of course, immeasurably fortified when to the usual and temporal punishments for disobedience were added the threats of eternal torture. The specious argument of Augustine, proposing the substitution of Church authority for that of the crumbling Roman Empire, was all that was needed to complete the tragedy. Thus have we been deceived by history. These events have been accounted as great blessings, while, in fact, they were fraught with dire consequences.

We have not time to consider the story of the Dark Ages. Nor is it needful. We must all, whatever be our viewpoint, recognize the lapse of Christianity from Christ's standard. We are all familiar with the many earnest, but futile, efforts to right things. Every holy order of the Mother Church is a surviving evidence of an attempt to correct.

On the east coast of England lies the County of Norfolk, with its capital, the fine old city of Norwich. Away back in the days of William the Conqueror, a company of Dutch weavers had settled there, and had planted seeds of independent thought and action which in time grew to large proportions. They came from that little corner of the world which has been called "the Cockpit of Europe"—these particular ones from Flanders. North Italian influence was strong in the Netherlands. A century before the Christian era, Netherlanders had joined the Cimbri in their invasion of Rome, and when defeated by Marius had taken up their residence in Lombardy. These sturdy Lombards had been fighting for freedom for years and had already established a "parliamento" at Milan. They drifted back down the Rhine to its mouth and carried thither their looms and

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their spirit of independence. An ancient statute of Friesland, still extant, declares that "the Frisians shall be free as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands." The continued drift to the adjacent town of Norwich, on the English coast, was an easy and natural one.

The people of Norwich were always an unruly lot. Edward Coke, a Norwich boy, came to be Chief Justice of England; defied the King's proclamation; stopped royal dictation to the judges, and wrote the great Petition of Right, which in the end brought the head of Charles the First to the block. Horatio Nelson, another Norwich lad, came to be a captain in the English Navy, disobeyed orders off Cape St. Vincent, and won an Admiral's rank and undying fame. Tom Paine, still another Norwich youngster, drifted to America, inspired the Colonists to revolt, and then went to France and fanned the flames of discontent there. More important than all, however, Norwich was the Bethlehem of our present-day government and our present-day Christianity. Nearly two centuries before Luther, the Lollard movement had passed over from Holland to Norwich. In the middle of the fourteenth century these same Dutch weavers—the Wise Men of the East, of England—were among the most zealous of John Wyclif's followers. There was preached to a sympathetic congregation his propaganda for vital piety and the separation of church and state. There and then the fires were lighted which were destined to flash around the world. A goodly number of martyrs went joyously to the stake. The battle was on. Thenceforward we can see what the Germans call *Warheit im Fortschritt* (Truth on the march).

One day Henry the Eighth tired of his Spanish wife Katherine. The Pope refused a divorce. He broke with the Mother Church and married a Norwich girl, Anne Boleyn. This girl's mother was the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. If you remember that the Spanish

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Katherine's daughter was Mary Tudor, while the Norwich Anne Boleyn's daughter was Queen Elizabeth, you will see how the thing worked out. All the time it was the spirit of the Spanish Cavalier against that of the Dutch weavers. When Wyclif's dead body had been dug up and burned, it was believed that there was an end of his heresy. The latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica says that within forty years after his death his influence was extinct. Poor history that!

The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea;
And Wyckliffe's dust was spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be.

The weavers were continuously at work fashioning a fabric of enormous worth to all mankind, a fabric frequently dyed in a martyr's blood. And the Dutch printers. They too were busy. They were printing Bibles before Luther was born. Amsterdam was little more than a hundred miles from Norwich, and there was constant communication between the two places. Thus it was that each weaver had his Bible which he prized above all his other possessions. They were known in England as the "Bible men." This went on until the English Court printer succeeded in having his Government forbid the sale or use of the Dutch Bibles. Secret Bible reading and secret worship naturally followed.

Thomas Bilney, Latimer's most trusted coadjutor, went to the stake in Norwich in 1531. Like their shuttles, the weavers went flying back and forth between Norwich and Holland to escape persecution and to spread their views. Although it took a century and a half for the seed which Wyclif planted to come to fruitage, there never was an hour when the weavers were idle. In 1555, Hugh Latimer himself went to the stake at Oxford crying out to his companion, as he embraced the flames: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play

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the man, for we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Only five years later, one was born who was destined to snatch up that candle and bear it aloft. This was Robert Browne. When scarce twenty-one years old he was appointed domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and this took him to Norwich. He soon caught the spirit of the place. It was ever a hotbed of revolt. By this time the Dutch weavers constituted more than half the population. For a hundred and fifty years they had refused their adhesion to either the Roman or the English Church, and had worshiped secretly or openly, as they dared, in an independent congregation. At this time the local bishop happened to be a tolerant man, so the weavers had established a public church, and to its pulpit they called young Browne. In less than a year, however, some one was sent down from London to stop the business, and then, as they had often done before, many of them scurried off to Holland, taking Browne with them.

Much has been made of Browne as the founder of a Separatist movement. This is a mistake. The movement was nearly two centuries old when he came to it. The Norwich folk had been steadily at work all the time. Their light had never failed. And Browne was a pretty weak and unworthy person at best. In Holland he wrote some forceful books, which were secretly introduced into England, and had influence, but later he recanted, went back to the Established Church, and died peacefully within its fold.

Neither shall we, if wise, give too much glory to the Puritans of Queen Elizabeth's day. They were as bitterly hostile to these Norwich Separatists as any one else. They joined hands with the bishops to exterminate them. A young man, John Robinson by name, went from Cambridge University to Norwich to preach. Of course he caught the infection, and, after four years, the Arch-

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bishop silenced him. It was a time of bitter persecution in England, but of the largest liberty in Holland.

The war between Alva, the bloody Spanish cavalier, and William, the Stadtholder, was over. The Dutch Republic, with freedom of worship, of press, and of school, was in full swing. One after another the Separatist Congregations had been banished to the Low Countries. About the only one remaining was that of John Smyth at Gainsborough. William Brewster, postmaster and master printer of Scrooby, ten miles away, and William Bradford, fustian weaver of Austerfield, only five miles away, were members. Thither Robinson took himself from Norwich. In 1606, that congregation followed the others to Holland, and those remaining organized a little church in Scrooby Manor House with Robinson as pastor. Two years later they in turn escaped across the North Sea.

Once more, too much has been made of this Scrooby Church, and of John Robinson himself. The congregation soon lost its identity in Holland; Smyth apostatized and on more than one occasion, Robinson was ready to return to the Anglican Church. Again, as ever before, it was the sturdy weaver who kept the candle aflame. It was Bradford who led the Pilgrims out of Leyden. He picked up Brewster at Southampton. And of all the one hundred and two souls on the *Mayflower*, these two alone can be identified as ever having belonged to the congregation at Scrooby.

In writing history, we are ever searching for a leader. It was the very essence of the Pilgrim movement that it had no authoritative leaders. Browne and Smyth and Robinson did not create—they were created. Guided unerringly by a great principle, the people went on, with or without the co-operation of their pastors.

I have but little more to say. I shall not trace the history of these people in America. You are all familiar with it. Like the children of Israel, they went into the wilderness to prepare themselves for the Promised Land.

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In some sense they were a highly educated company. They had that sort of education which Aristotle says "makes one do by choice what others do by force."

We all have our moments when we would turn from the wearisome and dangersome struggle to an alluring and an enchanting peace; from self-denial to self-gratification; from the anxieties of the Roman Capital and the privations of her battle-fields, to the Nile banks, the arms of Cleopatra, and the lotus leaves. We have our moods when we sigh for the repose and comfort that is to be found in a protective paternalism. Such was not the spirit of the Pilgrims. Plato's pathetic story of the dying hours of the Athenian democracy, when, under the ministry of Eubulus, "a life of comfort and a craving for amusement were encouraged in every way, and the interest of the citizens was withdrawn from serious things," did not in the least apply to them. They were what Plato called "the small remnant of honest followers of wisdom." Unwilling to buy peace or ease with dishonor, they came to the horrors of a bleak New England wilderness. They would not submit to the arbitrary laws of an English King, yet they imposed upon themselves the most rigorous laws the world has ever known. Well might these laws be called, as they were called, the "self-denying ordinances." They laid deep the foundation of a self-governing people, under which every one should enjoy the largest liberty in respect of his relation to God, but where every man should be obedient to law in respect of his relation to his fellow-man.

And yet I would not have you believe that they alone were responsible for this republic. The late German ambassador once said in Berlin, "My father was German, my mother Scotch, and I was born in England—that makes me an American." The Pilgrim influence was of limitless value, but it was the attrition and admixture of the Huguenot and Scotch-Irish blood which made us what we are. Bradford, the weaver, as Governor of the Plymouth Colony, brought strength, and religious

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freedom, and obedience to law. But the Huguenot refugees, who gave us of their loins, Francis Marion, and the two Laurenses; and the Scotch-Irish, who gave us Andrew Pickens and the two Rutledges, brought a softer and more human and more fraternal spirit. All of these factors went to make up the sum of virtue which characterized our forebears.

The finest expression of the weaver spirit on American soil was in the congregation of the old "Circular Church," of this city. The Massachusetts people turned Roger Williams out for defending "soul liberty"; here English refugees from Holland, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and French Huguenots worshiped side by side in perfect harmony.

And what did they not do for the world? Spain, in the persons of Cortez and Pizarro, returned gold as the result of their adventure. The Pilgrims, the Huguenots, and the Scotch-Irish returned human liberty. When the cry of Latimer swelled into a mighty diapason, as the organ tone of Milton rolled around the world, Pilgrims from Massachusetts Bay were back in England, voicing the Anthem of Freedom. It was Franklin and Tom Paine who stirred Paris to revolt. It was at Washington's side that Lafayette learned the lesson of liberty—and out of the French Revolution came parliamentary government to continental Europe.

These, our fathers, in storm and stress, through privation and suffering, prepared for us the blessings we now enjoy. If, mindful of their lofty example, we recognize that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," these blessings will endure. To no one as to us comes the divine command, "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION*

By Melville E. Stone

I AM to talk to you on Russia. I am not to deliver an "address" or "oration," but to have a little fireside talk with you in respect to that country. I am impressed that we in this country know very little of Russia, and that what little we do know has not been such as to create a high estimate of that country.

There are many reasons for this point of view. First, there is no conspicuous, no large Russian colony in this country. I think it would be very difficult to gather, within the limits of the United States, one hundred intelligent Russians, such as you would find among those at present in control of the new Government.† The people who have come over here have very naturally been the peasants of Russia and the poor, poverty-stricken Jews. They evoke our sympathy and pity. But we find it difficult to imagine Russia as an intelligent country, from the average specimen of her people that we find in New York or in the United States.

Then, as to our other point of view respecting Russia: Those who have traveled in Russia and who have come back to tell the story, related their trying experiences and annoyances growing out of the passport system. They have told you, if they have told you the truth, that they traveled in a country where no one had a

*An address delivered before the Brooklyn Civic Club, May 2, 1917.

† It should be noted that this was delivered in the early days of the Revolution.

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smile, and they told you of the grief and the suffering of that gigantic population.

Then you have also read George Kennan's story of the exiles to the mines and the horrors practiced by the Third Section of the Russian police. Then you have heard of pogroms, of the massacre of the Jews, and you have heard of the sodden, drunken peasants, where they all drank vodka.

Now this is all a very dark picture, but unhappily it is all a very true picture of the Russia of the past. When we consider that the number of newspapers in Russia is limited to fifteen hundred or two thousand, all under a rigid censorship, all forbidden to express any views, we naturally inquire, "How is it possible for such a country, occupied by nearly two hundred millions of people, of whom only 10 per cent. read or write any language, to achieve and maintain self-government?"

That is a perfectly natural inquiry; but it makes no account of another side of the picture. Russia, whether all I have said is true or not, has another side. For one hundred and fifty years, in many of her activities, she has been one of the self-governing countries of the world. The little farmer who, in Russia, can neither read nor write, meets once a year with the other farmers in his vicinity or in his village (it is called a "Mir") for defensive purposes. The villages in Russia are built as many of the villages in the old days were. The village there is built in the center, and the farms radiate therefrom. They meet in this manner, and have so met for more than one hundred and fifty years, once a year, to transact their own little local business.

If you will read John Fiske's book on "The American Political Ideals and Their Origin" you will find that the author traces our New England town meeting back to the Russian "Mir." It was there that it had its origin. It was born in the days of Catherine II. Of course, at that time the serfs were not free, and the landlords

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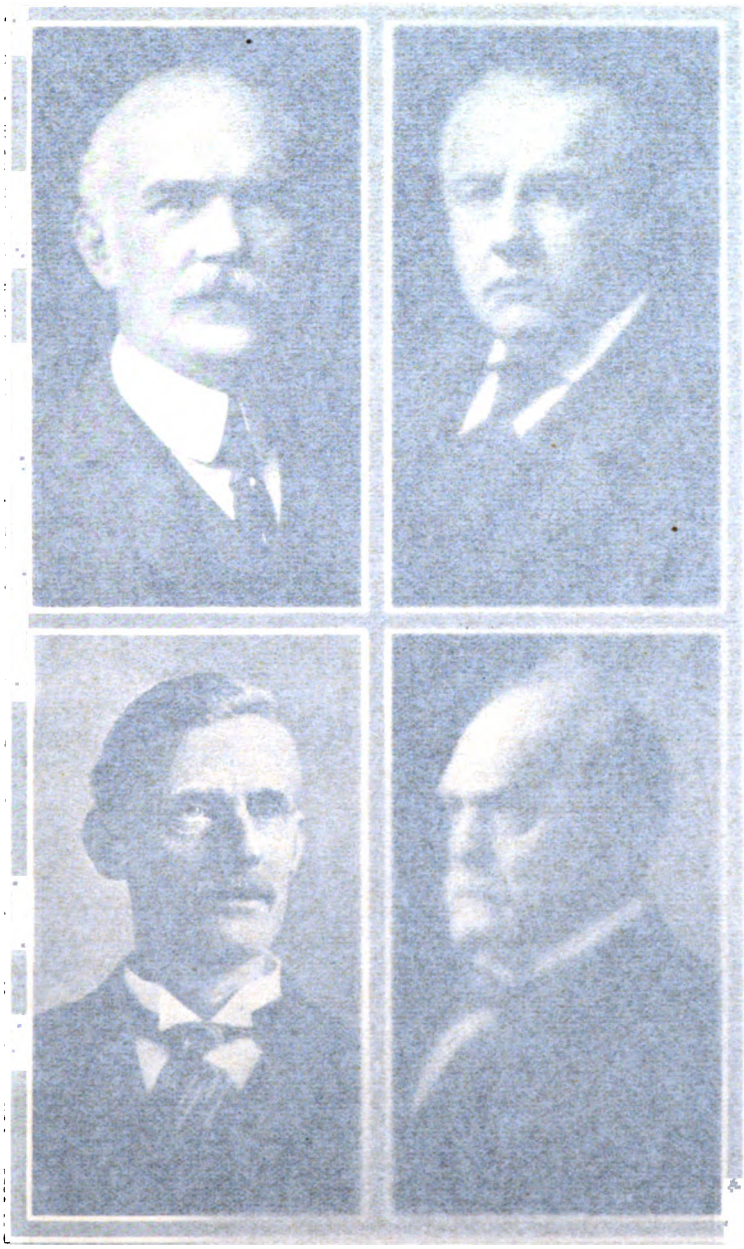

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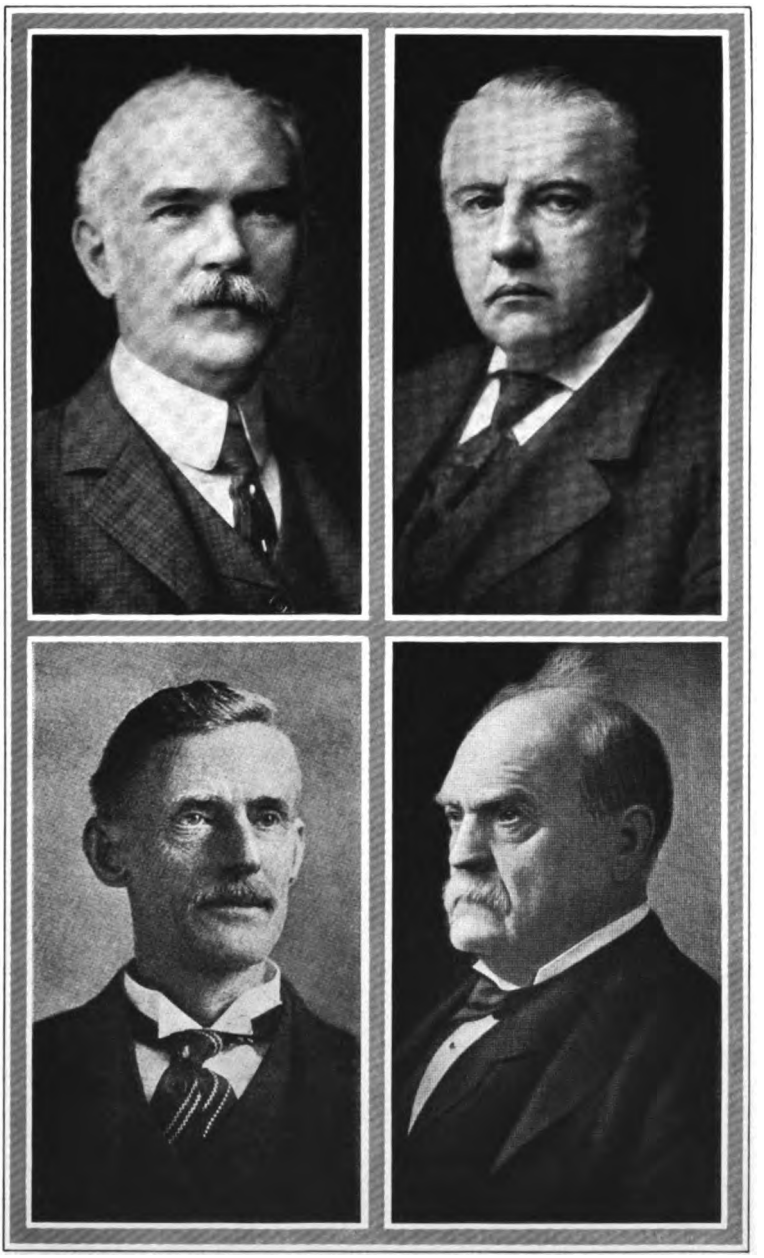

ALBERT J. BARR
THOMAS G. RAPIER

HERMAN RIDDER
HARVEY W. SCOTT

FORMER DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS—IV

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were the masters and they met in these village meetings. Then, in 1861, when the serfs were freed and attached to the land, they became participants in these meetings. Now a great many of these people cannot read or write, but they are taught by practice a form of self-government.

There are some rather interesting and amusing incidents in connection with these annual meetings of the Russians. For instance, every year they re-allot the farms and, curiously enough, the man who grumbles is the man who gets the best farm, because he will have to pay more taxes and work harder, and he would rather have a poor farm and work less and pay less taxes.

They have a second form of self-government—they hold their municipal elections in the cities. They have had municipal elections for years. They also have a third form, which is analogous to the County Councils of England, covering a larger field. These are the Zemstvos, and they are self-governing. And finally, they have a fourth form—the Duma, which was given them in 1905 by the Emperor Nicholas. The people have been trained through all these activities in self-government.

You have read, of course, of bomb-throwing in Russia, the work of the Nihilists and of the revolutionaries. But underlying all these things, Russia in the main has been a quiet and orderly country. Two things in her history that stand out as wonderfully significant are, first, that when Alexander freed the serfs (which was a thing of great moment, involving, as it did, the fortunes of a great many men) it was done quietly and calmly; the landlords of Russia participated in it, approved it, and there was no excitement and no disturbance.

Then since this war you have had an illustration of the calm character of the Russian people. By a stroke of the pen vodka disappeared entirely from every table in Russia. I said to a friend of mine, a colonel of a Siberian regiment, who was over here recently, "Was

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there no dissent?" "No," he replied. "Did it depend entirely upon the supreme authority of the autocrat of the Russians?" I asked. "No," he said. "We all recognized that vodka-drinking was a curse. In my own case my brother and I had two vodka factories, and when this order came we said, 'Well, it means bankruptcy, but it is right and we are going to do it; we are not going to dissent from the order of His Majesty.' We converted our factories into munition factories; we put our people at work in them and we have been saved by them. Of course we are not making nearly the amount of money we did before."

I do not know whether you read the stories The Associated Press had recently on the liberation of the Siberian exiles. These despatches were of a very remarkable character. One that impressed me very greatly was written by Mr. Robert Crozier Long, whom I sent from Stockholm to Petrograd, and out into Asia, to meet the incoming exiles from the mines. You may be interested in my calling renewed attention to them, as giving some illustration of the Russian character.

Out near some point—Irkutsk or Omsk—there was a governor of a prison who heard of the revolution. The prisoners didn't hear of it, but the governor knew it was coming. "Well," he said, "I am going to flog them once to-day, anyhow, so they will enjoy freedom when they get it." So he called them in and flogged them, and then disappeared. The parish priest told them of the revolution and informed them they were all free, and they went down to get this man, who had indulged in the flogging process in the morning. And they found him, and of course they were greatly incensed and they wanted to kill him. One of them said, "No— No, we will not do it. We will not stain this revolution by murder!" And they didn't.

Now I have very great hope for the future of Russia. I first visited Russia something like twenty-five or twenty-seven years ago. I have been there frequently

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since. The Russian people are a kindly people. There was never any reason in the world for the racial quarrel that existed there, except that it was stimulated by the bureaucracy. The Kishinev massacre, the Lodz massacre and the others were all stimulated by a number of Chauvinists, who were acting in conjunction with the St. Petersburg bureaucracy.

That went on and on and on until it finally reached a point where no member of the bureaucracy felt that he was safe; these attacks which were made by the Third Section of the Czar's police were likely to reach him. A man would sit in his apartment or in his home in St. Petersburg. There would come a rap on the door. A polite young man in citizen's clothing would be introduced. He would say to this home-staying body "They would like to see you down at Police Headquarters. There is a carriage down-stairs; will you come down?" He would put on his hat and coat and go down. He was taken to Police Headquarters and then, without trial, without any knowledge as to his offense, he found himself sent to one of the dungeons in the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul on an island in the Neva.

Well, the next day his family, not knowing, but suspecting that something was wrong, took steps to inquire. The man's brother went to the prison and asked the keeper if Ivan was there. The keeper said, "Well, who are you, that you should inquire?" "I am his brother." "Oh, you are." "Yes." "And you want to see your brother?" "Yes." "Well the next cell to his is vacant, and you shall have it."

And so he was incarcerated. And those two men were sent to Siberia, and unless by some fortuitous circumstance they could get word out, their families, who had not the faintest idea of their whereabouts, might never know what their fate had been. That condition had gone on. Bureaucratic, tyrannous government had become intolerable for every one. It had its terrors for even the bureaucrats themselves. The *lettres de cachet*

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of Mirabeau's day were harmless compared with the diabolism practiced by the Third Section of the Czar's police.

If a man of the bureaucracy for any reason felt he would like to see another member of the bureaucracy put out of the way—and sometimes for reasons that are amazing—he might take the husband of a woman whom he wanted. If he wanted a fellow bureaucrat put out of the way he would make some charge against this bureaucrat, and if he could get the ear of the Third Section, this bureaucrat himself would go to Siberia.

Now they reached a point where the bureaucracy of Russia overturned almost all of the decisions of the "Mir" and of the municipal elections, and of the Zemstvos, and closed the Duma and reached down with such terrible tyranny upon them that they finally, all of them, even bureaucrats, were glad to have the revolution.

I don't think the Emperor was as responsible for these conditions as perhaps would appear on the surface. I remember a very interesting talk I had with him, in which he said, "If they let me live, I will give Russia a government modeled after the British Government. My mother was an Englishwoman; my tutor was an English clergyman. Don't make any mistake; I know what a limited monarchy is. And English is the language of our home." (It is the Court language at the Winter Palace and Tsarskoe-Selo.) He said, "I do not know whether they will let me live or not. My grandfather undertook to give them a constitution, but on the very day he had given it to them he was assassinated."

Now that brings me to a point of view in respect to Russia that I think is a just one. I know that Dr. Andrew D. White has said he thought Nicholas was savage in his instinct—a view growing out of a statement Nicholas made in his presence when Dr. White was our Ambassador to Russia. I do not agree with him. He *is* a coward, and small wonder that he is a

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coward. He has lived in the atmosphere of poison and of bombs, and he has exemplified the theory that, "all cowards are brutes." It is inherent in him; it is a part of his nature. That was expressed by Plehve, the Minister of the Interior. I was talking to him about the abolition of the censorship and he said, "Oh, no, I don't think it can be done." "Well," I said, "I am sorry I don't agree with you. I don't think these repressive measures will work out in the end. Of course all government is repressive in a measure, but over-repression ends in revolution." "Well," he said, "if you drop the lines the horses are going to run away."

Now that is the attitude and has been the attitude of the country so far. "If you drop the lines the horses would run away." All you had to do to induce the Emperor to send a man to Siberia was to say, "Well, your children are in danger." "This man is a revolutionist." "This man will poison your food." "This man will throw a bomb and kill you."

While I think Nicholas honestly wished to give them a better government, he countenanced tyranny and barbarism out of his fears, until it became absolutely unendurable.

If you will read the authenticated history of your own country you will learn that, from the very foundation of the Republic to this hour, Russia has been our steadfast friend. Not a friend in lavish professions—to whisper a tale of devotion to our ear in the moment of our triumph, only to break faith with us in the moment of our trial—but a friend who has ever held out a helping hand in every time of need. If you care to learn the story you will find it in the diary of John Quincy Adams, in Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire" of Bonaparte; in the letters and reports of Bayard Taylor and Cassius M. Clay, and every minister and every ambassador and every *chargé* of this country at St. Petersburg. It was not the unbroken squares of Wellington under the shadow of Mont St. Jean that sealed Napo-

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leon's doom, it was the friendship of Alexander, the Czar of Russia, for the Americans, four years earlier. There was an hour when an American President—Madison—had but one minister at any court of Europe and that minister was at St. Petersburg. And that minister was John Quincy Adams, "the old man eloquent." Russia and France were in close alliance as the result of the famous treaty on the raft at Tilsit. The Berlin and Milan decrees had been issued forbidding commerce with Britain by any of the continental Powers which were under Napoleon's thumb. By direction of the French Emperor, American ships were classed with British ships, because we had refused to obey his command that we make war on Great Britain. Adams was sent as minister to Russia. On his way, pursuant to Bonaparte's decree, he found fifty American merchantmen held by order of the French Emperor, for trial by a Danish prize court at Copenhagen. He stopped and protested, but in vain. He pushed on to St. Petersburg; he begged Russia to intervene. Russia was committed by her alliance with France to the Berlin and Milan decrees. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs declined the demand of Adams. Then Adams went to Alexander, the Russian Emperor, and the Czar struck the blow which toppled the mighty Corsican from his throne and finally sent him to St. Helena. Overruling his minister, he not only compelled the release of the impounded American ships at Copenhagan, but, defying his French allies, he opened all of the Russian ports to American commerce. And later, through his influence, he induced Sweden, under John Bernadotte, to join in defying the Milan decrees and to allow American vessels to enter the ports of Sweden; and because of this—because of this act—the alliance between France and Russia was broken, and Russia and Sweden joined with England in marching on to Waterloo and to Paris. Criticizing his Imperial Master on that occasion, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs said to Mr. Adams, "Our friendship for America

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is obstinate, more obstinate than you know." It was so obstinate that for it Alexander broke with Napoleon and remade the map of Europe.

But, two years after Waterloo, and while Russia was fresh in her alliance with Britain, she gave us another signal evidence of her friendship for the United States. We quarreled with England over the construction of the treaty of Ghent, and the matter was submitted to Alexander, the same Russian Emperor as arbiter, and he decided in our favor. But still later, when we were in the throes of the Civil War, another Alexander, another Czar of the Russians, sent two fleets, not one, to New York and San Francisco, to testify that there was one civilized power of Europe who was our friend.

I know that doubt has been cast upon the statement that these fleets were under sealed orders to report to President Lincoln in case England and France undertook to intervene, and although there is much evidence that such was the fact (indeed, Minister Lothrop, who was our minister there, left testimony that he himself had seen the sealed orders)—although there is much evidence to sustain that statement I do not care to assert it. What is of still greater importance and significance, and what cannot be challenged, is a letter from Bayard Taylor to Secretary Seward written in the hour of our sorest peril and detailing an audience with Gortschakoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Russia alone has stood by you from the first and will continue to stand by you," said Prince Gortschakoff to Mr. Taylor. "Proposals will be made to Russia to join in some plan of interference. She will refuse any invitation of the kind. Russia will occupy the same ground as at the beginning of the struggle. You may rely upon it. She will not change." Turn to the diplomatic papers of the Government for 1862 and read that letter and imagine what it meant to the agonized soul of Lincoln. I am sure it is not too much to say that but for Russia's firm attitude

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of friendship there would have been an intervention and probably the resultant disruption of this Union.

Such, gentlemen, is our obligation to Russia.

We are engaged in a great world struggle for Democracy. You have had the most wonderful illustration in Russia of a people rising in its might. As I said the other night, I firmly believe that if all the blood that has been spilled and all the wealth that has been spent in this war results only in a free Russia, it will have been well worth all it has cost humanity.

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THE HIGH COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION*

By Melville E. Stone

IT IS a pleasure to share in the celebration of another of those centennials that have occurred and recurred in this country so frequently during the last thirty-three years. They obviously and naturally began with the celebration at Philadelphia, in 1876, of the opening of the great struggle which resulted in the establishment, for the first time in the history of the world, of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. It is fitting also that this celebration, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the first newspaper in the Territory of Michigan, should be held in this beautiful auditorium, which was the creation of the brain and soul of one of your journalists.

There is a strange fascination in looking back over the historic plain of a hundred years and noting the high points that here and there rise against the sky. As I have said, for thirty-three years we have been celebrating centennials. The one at Marietta, Ohio, seems to me the most significant of all. It celebrated the beginning of the Northwest Territory, of which what is now the State of Michigan was a portion. And the part which this Northwest Territory played in the development and preservation of our American Republic was of enormous importance. Indeed, it was more than that, and I think we, the sons of that Northwest Territory, may fairly boast that, but for it, there probably

* An address delivered at the Centennial of the establishment of the first newspaper in Michigan,—The Detroit *Free Press*—at Detroit, Michigan, June 8, 1909.

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would be no United States to-day. In two ways it saved the Union—first, by reason of its very existence, and second, by reason of the singularly wise law originally enacted by Congress for its government—the great ordinance of 1787.

The close of the Revolutionary War left the colonies in a condition well nigh chaotic. They were thirteen independent sovereignties with no well-defined purpose to form a nation. It was a critical hour. Washington almost despaired of saving the country from a state of anarchy, and Hamilton openly predicted that the Union would not last twenty years. Then Virginia and New York and Massachusetts and Connecticut surrendered to the general Government their claims to these western lands; the warring colonies found themselves possessed of a common property to develop and protect; and the need of a strong central authority became apparent. This was the thing which vitalized the idea of a Federal Union. It saved to us the Republic with all the blessings which we now enjoy.

But the ordinance of 1787, passed by Congress some months before the Federal Constitution was perfected, meant even more. It was an extraordinary document. Daniel Webster in his reply to Hayne said he doubted whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, had produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character. Yet Webster, truthful and well deserved as was his tribute, died and was buried before the American people had come to a realization of the full measure of benefit in store for them as a result of this great enactment. Each of its six brief articles was pregnant of great results.

Its opening declaration, in simple and direct phrase, guaranteed, as had never been done before on this earth, what Roger Williams so well called "soul liberty," and provided that no one should ever be molested in the territory on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments. There was a bill of rights, incomplete, yet

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far in advance of anything the world had ever known. Free public schools were foreshadowed. The old laws of primogeniture were swept away and our law for descent of property established. For the first time the goods of one dying intestate were divided between sons and daughters alike. The just treatment of the Indians was enjoined. And, in passing, this clause reminds me to say that the popular belief that the American people have so waged a war of extermination upon the aborigines that they are practically extinct, is wholly without warrant. I believe it to be true that there are many more Indians living within the confines of the United States to-day than there ever were in the earlier days of the Republic. There were then a few tribes scattered along the Atlantic littoral, and about the great lakes and rivers of the West. While, of course, we have no definite figures, since it was impossible that there should be an enumeration of them in their savage state, it is evident from their nomadic character and the wide area over which they roamed and hunted that their number must have been limited. Moreover, the slightest investigation of our Indian wars must convince you that the number of those killed in battle was, after all, in the aggregate, comparatively insignificant. And there are now, exclusive of Alaska, over 250,000 Indians in our country.

But it was the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of the immortal ordinance which in the end were destined to sweep away the foul blot of human slavery and to save the Union in the War of the Rebellion. Provision was made in the law that five States should be carved out of the territory, and as an inalienable fraction of their title to existence, it was declared that they should forever remain a part of the United States. Finally, as the crowning glory of this achievement of our forefathers was the solemn declaration that within the limits of the Northwest Territory, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment

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for crime whereof the party should have been duly convicted.

It was Lewis Cass of Michigan, and not Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who invented the theory of what was popularly known as "Squatter Sovereignty." And it was altogether fitting and proper that under the oaks at Jackson, in this State of Michigan, on the 6th of July, 1854, there should be brought into being the great Republican party, having for its purpose the defence and enforcement of the right of the National Government to stay the onward march of slavery into the national territory. For it was upon this dogma that the Republican party was founded: it was upon this dogma that Mr. Lincoln debated with Douglas, and upon it based his great Cooper Institute speech, which made him President of the United States. If slavery could not spread into the territories it must die.

Such was the basic principle of the Republican party, a principle founded on the action of Congress in passing the ordinance of 1787. Neither Mr. Lincoln nor the Republican party stood distinctly for the abolition of slavery. It is not at all certain they would have been victorious if they had. They stood for the sovereign right of the National Government to follow in the footsteps of the Fathers who passed this great law and thereby they saved the Union and they destroyed slavery.

This year of our Lord 1787 was a great one for the human race. After all, the spirit of '76 was a spirit of protest against the tyranny of George III.; the spirit of '87 was a spirit of constructive effort for liberty. Following hard upon the passage of this great ordinance, and but a few months later, was the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Philadelphia Convention. Of it Mr. Gladstone said, after mature reflection, it was "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

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But there were other factors than the ordinance of 1787, and the Federal Constitution, needful for our permanency. Chief among these was the development of intercommunication. And the means were at hand. It was in this very year 1787, by John Fitch, of Philadelphia—and not twenty years later, by Robert Fulton, as is generally supposed—that the steamboat was invented and came into use. The members of the convention who were framing the Federal Constitution witnessed his journey up and down the Delaware River. In order to raise the money with which to carry on his experiments and to secure his patents poor Fitch drew a map of this Northwest Territory with his own hands, printed it on a cider press, and sold the copies from door to door. He sought unavailingly a helpful appropriation from Congress. Finally bankrupted in his struggle for recognition, he committed suicide and went to oblivion. His contribution should have immortalized him.

How this development of intercommunication went on you shall see. The nineteenth century must stand out in all history distinctly as the century in which intercommunication was developed. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and one of the earliest achievements of the first Congress of the Republic, was the provision that no national law should be enacted abridging the freedom of the press.

It is an interesting coincidence that the oldest of existing newspapers in your city, one founded before Michigan was a State, bears the name, *The Free Press*, while the first steamboat floated in Western waters made its initial voyage to Detroit.

In the history of the world it will be noted there have been from time to time brief periods when there seemed to be a sudden awakening from sleep, and we strode on in our march of progress with seven-league boots. Such was the period in the fifteenth century, when the Reformation and the discovery of printing

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by movable types came hand-in-hand for the world's enlightenment.

Such again was the period in the nineteenth century, when within a few short years came the steamship, the railroad, the art of stereotyping, the fast press, and the telegraph, and following came the Atlantic cable, the telephone, and wireless transmission. It was as if again, as at the dawn of creation, the Almighty issued His majestic mandate, "Let there be light, and there was light." Time was when we thought it necessary to move the seat of Government from the banks of the Potomac to some central point. To-day, who cares where the seat of Government is? We are transported by invisible arms to the national capitol, wherever it may be, and day by day we look in upon the acts of our Legislators quite as freely as if we were physically present.

In all this business the highest exponent of intercommunication is, of course, the newspaper. It is indeed the very governing force, not alone of this country, but of the world. It constitutes the High Court of Public Opinion. At the bar of this court, all men, whether of high or of low degree, must make answer. Admit—and no one will do it more readily than I—its failings, the fact it has human limitations, that the frailties common to mankind tinge, modify and hurt its usefulness; still the newspaper is the best expression of public opinion, and public opinion, after all, governs the world.

Mr. Bryce, in his admirable work upon the American Commonwealth has said that the newspaper has a three-fold mission; it is the town gossip, telling you the news; it is the oracle directing your opinions; and it is the weather-vane indicating which way the wind blows. Well, I have not so much regard for it as an oracle, but I think the service it renders as a gossip is of the highest value and very great ethical worth. It reaches out into every region where human activities have play, it

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combs the earth for all of its happenings, and it brings and lays at your feet, and practically without cost, the results of its enterprise.

Are you a merchant or a manufacturer? Your daily life is guided by the information which comes to you almost hourly in your newspaper. But in a larger sense this means little. What means most is that no great harm can come to the sons of men anywhere on this rolling globe so long as the fierce light of publicity shines on. To use the phrase of a distinguished jurist, "A mountain clapped its black hand upon a poor city of Martinque, and before the smoke had cleared from the sky, because the story had been told in the news despatches, ships laden with the bounty of mankind were sailing from all the ports of the world."

One Sunday morning a few years ago, while the Portsmouth Peace Conference was in session, a distinguished representative of the Japanese Government telephoned me and solicited an interview. Japan had demanded an indemnity of eight hundred millions of dollars which Russia had refused to give. Baron Kaneko asked me if I believed Russia immovable. I replied that I did not doubt it; that I had been assured that Witte and Rosen were under orders of their sovereign to leave and break up the conference on the following Tuesday. "Then," said Kaneko, "we must abandon all claim for indemnity because we cannot stand in the eyes of the world as pursuing a war for mere money."

Still more recently Sicily and Calabria were stricken by a great earthquake. One of our supply-ships was lying at Brooklyn Navy Yard loading with provisions to meet our fleet of battle-ships returning from the memorable voyage around the world. The news of the Italian disaster was flashed across the sea by an Associated Press correspondent and in forty-eight hours, under orders from the Government, the supply-ship set sail, not to meet the battle-ships, but to carry food to Messina. And thus thousands of lives were saved.

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"M. E. S."—HIS BOOK

From far-off Asiatic Turkey came the story a few weeks ago of a horrible massacre of unnumbered Christians. How in response there went back a great store of the world's munificence is fresh in the minds of all.

It was the world's public opinion developed by the press despatches which compelled Abdul-Hamid to abdicate the throne of Turkey, but equally it was the world's public opinion developed by the press despatches which forbade the victorious Young Turks to take Abdul-Hamid's life.

All of which means, if I read history aright, that in the end the world is, and must be, governed by public opinion. Wrong, tyranny, oppression can only survive in those dark holes to which the light of publicity does not penetrate. And day by day these dark spots are growing fewer in number. For the bulwarking of slavery, the arguments of Cass and Douglas, the opinions of Taney's Supreme Court, the Mexican war and the rebellion, were all in vain. The decision of the high court of public opinion determined the issue. And it is by and through intercommunication that an enlightened public opinion alone may be crystallized. And, as I have said, the newspaper is the last and best means of intercommunication.

How heavy, then, is the responsibility resting upon those who conduct our public journals. They are charged with a duty of the most momentous character. Fortunately with them, as with none others, "honesty is the best policy." They wear their hearts upon their sleeves. They cannot long deceive the people.

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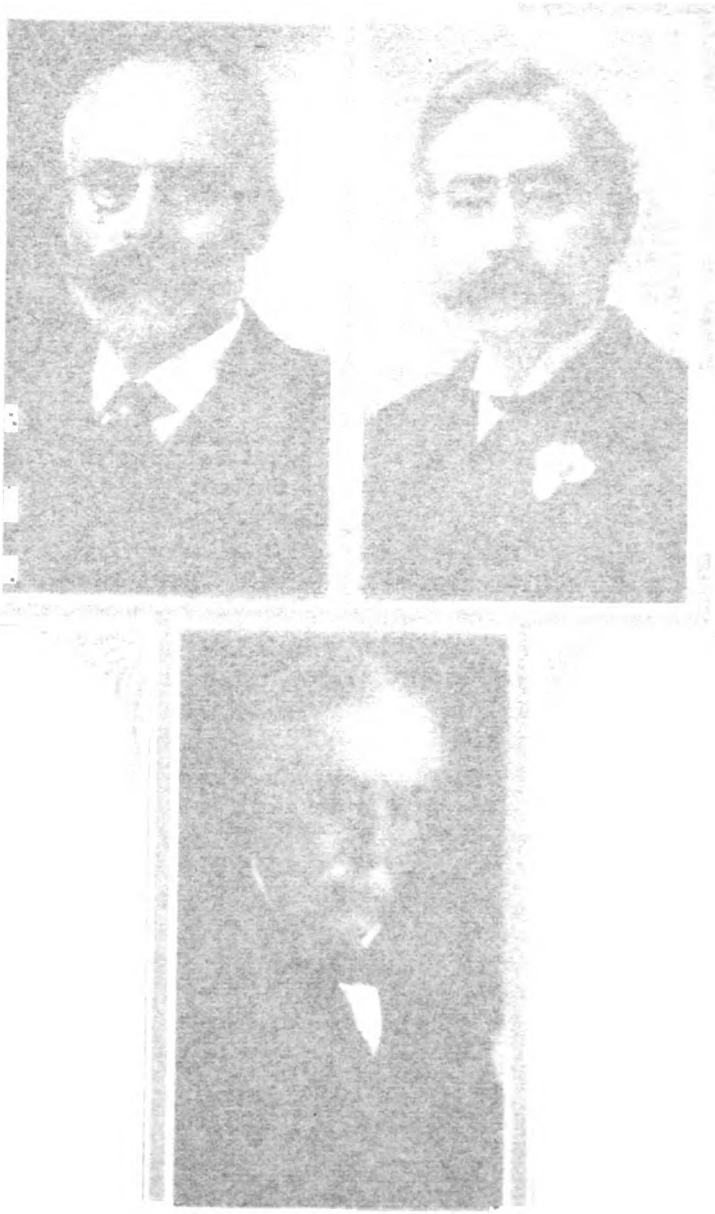

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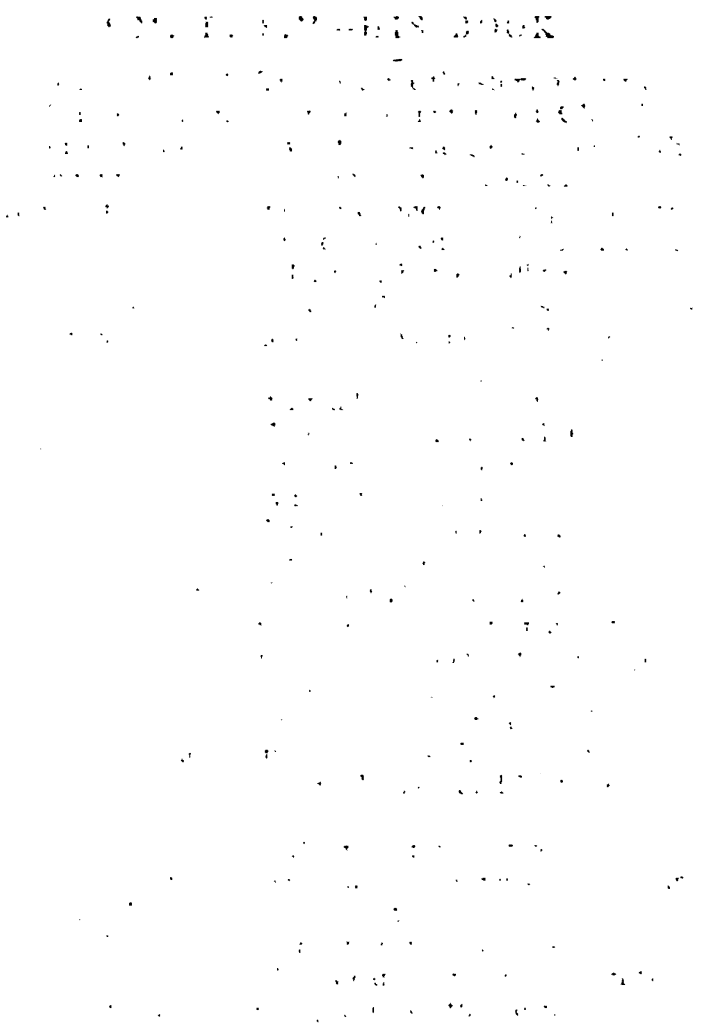

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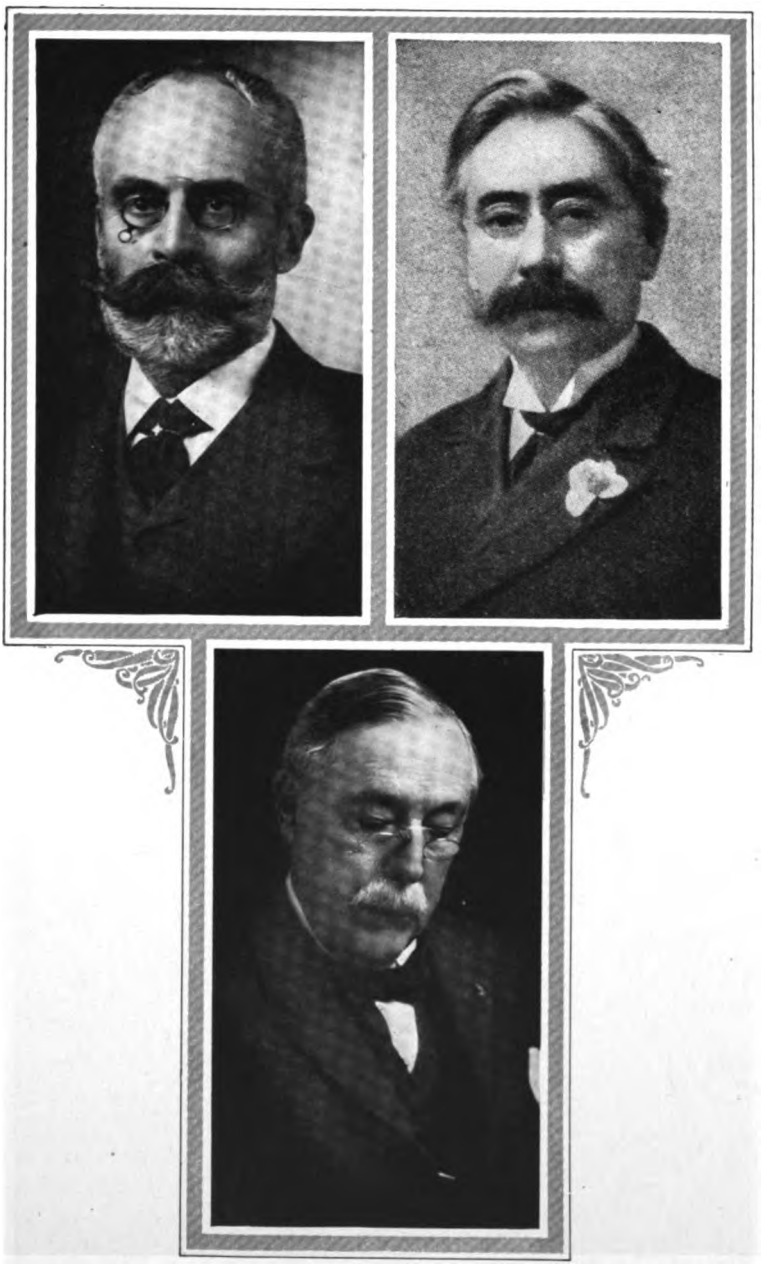

FORMER DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS—V

GEN. CHARLES H. TAYLOR GEORGE THOMPSON

COL. CHARLES A. BOYNTON

LATE SUPERINTENDENT, SOUTHERN DIVISION

A BELOVED VETERAN OF THE OLD DAYS

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CRITICISMS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

TWO LETTERS IN REPLY TO ATTACKS UPON THE ORGANIZATION; PUBLISHED IN "THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY" AND IN "COLLIER'S WEEKLY"

By Melville E. Stone

FROM time to time there have been epidemics of criticism of The Associated Press. In connection with these Mr. Stone has carried on voluminous correspondence, some of which has been published. In the summer of 1914 there was one of these interchanges. The letters written at that time, in answer to articles printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* and in *Collier's Weekly*, are so clear in their setting-forth of the truth about certain little-understood and frequently misrepresented aspects of the service; and at the same time so typical as examples of the patience with which Mr. Stone has explained these matters, that it has seemed appropriate to include them in this volume. The nature of the article in the *Atlantic* to which it is a reply seems sufficiently indicated in the text of Mr. Stone's letter:

NEW YORK, *August 1, 1914.*

EDITOR, *Atlantic Monthly:*

An article under the title "The Problem of The Associated Press" appeared in the July issue of the *Atlantic*. It was anonymous and may be without claim to regard. It is marred by several mistakes of fact. Some of them are inexcusable; the truth might so easily have been learned. Nevertheless it is desirable that everybody should know all about The Associated Press, whether it is an unlawful and dangerous monopoly, or whether it is in the business of circulating "tainted news." Its telegrams are published in full or in abbreviated form, in nearly nine hundred daily newspapers having an

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aggregate circulation of many millions of copies. Upon the accuracy of these news despatches, one-half of the people of the United States depend for the conduct of their various enterprises, as well as for the facts upon which to base their opinions of the activities of the world. With a self-governing nation, it is all-important that such an agency as The Associated Press furnish as nearly as may be the truth. To mislead is an act of treason.

The writer's history is at fault. For instance, the former Associated Press never bought a controlling share of the old-time United Press, as he alleges. Nor did the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* go to law because it was refused admission. It was a charter member; it admittedly violated a By-Law, discipline was administered and against this discipline the law was invoked, and a decision adverse to the then existing Associated Press resulted. The assertion that a "franchise to a newspaper in New York or Chicago is worth from $50,000 to $200,000" will amuse thousands of people who know that five morning Associated Press newspapers of Chicago, the *Chronicle*, the *Record*, the *Times*, the *Freie Presse*, and the *Inter-Ocean*, have ceased publication in the somewhat recent past, and their owners have not received a penny for their so-called "franchises." The Boston *Traveler* and *Evening Journal* were absorbed and their memberships thrown away. The *Christian Science Monitor** voluntarily gave up its membership and took another service which it preferred. The Hartford *Post*, Bridgeport *Post*, New Haven *Union*, and Schenectady *Union* did the same. Cases where Associated Press papers have ceased publication have not been infrequent. Witness the Worcester *Spy*, St. Paul *Globe*, Minneapolis *Times*, Denver *Republican*, San Francisco *Call*, New Orleans *Picayune*, Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and Philadelphia *Times*, as well as many others.

The statement that the Press Association of England is an unlimited co-operative organization betrays incomplete information. Instead it is a share company with an issued capital of £49,440 sterling. On this, in 1913, it made £3,708 9s. 10d., or nearly 8 per cent. And it had in its treasury at the close of that year a surplus of £23,281 19s. 6d, or a sum nearly equal to 50 per cent. of its capitalization. It sells news to newspapers, clubs, hotels, and news-rooms. It is not, as is The Associated Press, a clearing-house for the exchange of news. It gathers all of its information by its own employees and sells it outright. Finally, it does not serve all applicants, but declines, as it always has, to furnish its news to the London papers.

But there is more important matter. It is said that the business of collecting and distributing news is essentially monopolistic. But how can this be? The field is an open one. A single reporter may

*As these pages go to press, the *Christian Science Monitor* returns to membership in The Associated Press.

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enter it and so may an association of reporters. The business in any case may be confined to the news of a city or it may be extended to include a state, a nation, or the world. The material facilities for the transmission of news, so far as they are of a public or quasi-public nature, the mail or the telegraph, are open to the use of all on the same terms. The subject matter of news, events of general interest, are not property and cannot be appropriated. The element of property exists only in the story of the event which the reporter makes and the diligence which he uses to bring it to the place of publication. This element of property is simply the right of the reporter to the fruit of his own labor. The "Recessional" was a report of the Queen's Jubilee. It was made by Rudyard Kipling and was his property for that reason, to be disposed of by him as he thought proper. He might have copyrighted it and reserved to himself the exclusive right of publication during the period of the copyright. He chose rather to use his common law right of first publication and he did this by selling it to the London *Times*. He was not under obligation, moral or legal, to sell it at the same time to any other publisher. Every other reporter stands upon the same footing and as the author of his story is, by every principle of law and equity, entitled to a monopoly of his manuscript until he voluntarily assigns it or surrenders it to the public. He does not monopolize the news. He cannot do that, for real news is as woman's wit, of which Rosalind said, "Make the door upon it and it will out at the casement; shut that and 'twill out at the keyhole; stop that, 'twill fly with the smoke out at the chimney." The reporter as a mere laborer, engaged in personal service, is simply free from compulsion to give or sell his labor to one seeking it. Such is the state of the law to-day. And the English courts go farther and uniformly hold that news telegrams may not be pirated, even after publication. In a dozen British colonies statutory protection of such despatches is given for varying periods. In this country there have been a number of decisions looking to the same end. The output of The Associated Press is not the news; it is a story of the news written by reporters, employed to serve the membership. The organization issues no newspaper; it prints nothing. As a reporter, it brings its copy to the editor, who is free to print it, abbreviate it, or throw it away. And to this reporter's work, the reporter and the members employing him have, by law and morals, undeniably an exclusive right.

The next question involves the integrity of The Associated Press service. The instances of alleged bias he cites are unfortunate. Any claim that the doings of the Progressives in 1912 were "blanketed" by The Associated Press is certainly unwarranted. Our records show that the organization reported more than thrice the

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number of words concerning the activities of the Progressives than of those of all their opponents combined. There were reasons for this. It was a new party in the field, and naturally awakened unusual interest. But also, it should be said that Colonel Roosevelt has expert knowledge of newspaper methods. He understands the value of preparing his speeches in advance and furnishing them in time to enable The Associated Press to send them to its members by mail. They are put in type in the newspaper offices leisurely and the proofs are carefully read. When one of his speeches is delivered, a word or two by telegraph "releases" it, and a full and accurate publication of his views results. While he was President he often gave us his messages a month in advance; they were mailed to Europe and to the Far East and appeared in the papers abroad the morning after their delivery to Congress. Before he went to Africa, the speeches he delivered a year later at Oxford and in Paris were prepared, put in type, proof-read, and laid away for use when required. This is not an unusual nor an unwise practice. It assures a speaker wide publicity and saves him the annoyance of faulty reporting. Neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Taft was able to do this, although frequently urged to do so. They spoke extemporaneously, often late in the evening, and under conditions which made it physically impossible to make a satisfactory report, or to transmit it by wire broadcast over the country.

As to the West Virginia coal strike: A magazine charged that The Associated Press had suppressed the facts and that as a consequence no one knew there had been trouble. The authors were indicted for libel. One witness only has yet been heard. He was called by the defense, and in the taking of his deposition it was disclosed that at the date of the publication over ninety-three thousand words had been delivered by The Associated Press to the New York papers. Something like sixty columns respecting the matter had been printed.

However, "The point to be noticed," says the writer, "is that it [The Associated Press] might color news if it wanted to, and that it does exercise certain monopolistic functions. That in itself is a dangerous state of affairs; but it seems to be one that might be rectified." And, as a remedy, he proposes that "its service should be open to all customers." This is most interesting. If the news service is untrustworthy, it would naturally seem plain that the activities of the agency should be restricted, not extended. Instead of enlarging its fields of operations, there should be, if possible, a law forbidding it to take in any new members, or, indeed, summarily putting it out of business. If The Associated Press is corrupt, it is too large now and no other newspaper should be subjected to its baleful influence.

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Your critic adds that then "if its news were none the less unfair, some arrangement could presumably be made for Government restraint." Since the battle against Government control of the press was fought nearly two centuries ago, it seems scarcely worth while to waste much effort over this suggestion. Censorship by the King's agents was the finest flower of medieval tyranny. It is hard to believe that any one, in this hour, should suggest a return to it.

Under the closely censored method of this co-operative organization, notwithstanding the wide range of its operations and although its service has included millions of words every month, it is proper to say that there has never been a trial for libel nor have the expenses in connection with libel suits exceeded a thousand dollars in the aggregate. This should be accepted as some evidence of the standard of accuracy maintained.

As to the refusal of The Associated Press to admit to membership every applicant, the suggestion is made that this puts such a limit on the number of newspapers as to "stifle trade in the selling of news." Thus, says your critic, the Association is "the mother, potential and sometimes actual, of countless small monopolies." In reply, it may be said that we are in no danger of a dearth of newspapers. There are more news journals in the United States than in all the world beside. If the whole foreign world were divided into nations of the size of this country, each nation would have but eighty daily newspapers, while we have over twenty-four hundred. And as to circulation, we issue a copy of a daily paper for every three of our citizens who can read and are over ten years of age. With our methods of rapid transportation, hundreds of daily papers might be discontinued and still leave every citizen able to have his morning paper delivered at his breakfast table. Every morning paper between New York and Chicago might be suppressed and yet, by the fast mail trains, papers from the two terminal cities could be delivered so promptly that no one in the intervening area would be left without the current world's news. Every angle of every fad, or ism, outside the walls of Bedlam, finds an advocate with the largest freedom of expression. Our need is not for more papers, but for better papers—papers issuing truthful news and with clearer sense of perspective as to news.

Entirely independent of The Associated Press, or any influence it might have upon the situation, there has been a noticeable shrinkage in the number of important newspapers in the recent past. One reason has been the lack of demand by the public for the old-time partisan journal. Instead, the very proper requirement has been for papers furnishing the news impartially, and communities therefore no longer divide, as formerly, on political lines in their choice

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of newspapers. The increased cost of white paper and of labor has also had an effect.

Since there are some five hundred or more daily newspapers getting on very well without the advantage of The Associated Press "franchises," it can hardly be said that we have reached a stage where this service is indispensable. This is strikingly true in the light of the fact that in a number of cities the papers making the largest profits are those that have not, nor have they ever had, membership in The Associated Press.

It will be agreed at once that private right must ever give way to public good. If it can be shown that, as contended, the national welfare requires that those who, without any advantage over their fellow-editors, have built up an efficient co-operative news-gathering agency, must share the accumulated value of the good-will they have achieved, with those who have been less energetic, we may have to give heed to the claim. Such a contention, so persistently urged as it has been, is certainly flattering to the membership and management of The Associated Press. But, however agreeable it always is to divide up other people's property, before settling the matter, there are some things to think of. First, it must be the public good that forces this invasion of private right; it must not be the desire of some one who, having an itch to start a newspaper, feels that he would prefer The Associated Press service. Second, the practical effect of a rule such as was laid down by the Illinois Supreme Court, requiring the organization to render service to all applicants, must be carefully considered. News is not a commodity of the nature of coal or wood. It is incorporeal. It does not pass from seller to buyer in the way ordinary commodities do. Although the buyer receives it, the seller does not cease to possess it. In order to make a news-gathering agency possible, it has been found necessary to limit, by stringent rules, the use of the service by the member. Thus each member of The Associated Press is prohibited from making any use of the despatches furnished him, other than to publish them in his newspaper. If such a restriction were not imposed, any member, on receipt of his news service, might at once set up an agency of his own and put an end to the general organization. This rule, as well as all disciplinary measures, would disappear under the plan proposed by the critic of the *Atlantic*. A buyer might be expelled, but to-morrow he could demand readmission. There would in practice no longer be members with a right of censorship over the management; instead there would be one seller and an unlimited number of buyers. Then, indeed, there would be a monopoly of the worst sort. And Government censorship, with all of its attendant, and long since admitted evils, would follow. Under a Republican administration we should have a Republican

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censor; under a Democratic administration, a Democratic censor. And a free press would no longer exist.

Absolute journalistic inerrancy is not possible. But we are much nearer it to-day than ever before. And it is to approximate inerrancy in its despatches that The Associated Press is striving. If in its methods of organization, or in its manner of administration, it is violating any law, or is making for evil, it should be punished or suppressed. If any better method for securing an honest, impartial news service can be devised, by all means let us have it. But that the plan proposed would better the situation is clearly open to doubt.

MELVILLE E. STONE.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH "COLLIER'S"

In *Collier's Weekly* for June 6, 1914, appeared the following editorial:

In Justice to the "A. P."

The officers and members of The Associated Press have been kept busy lately repelling attacks upon that organization. In so far as they are defending themselves from the charge of wilful distortion of the news, we sympathize with them. Six or seven years ago we printed a series of articles which dealt with the general subject of "tainted news," and from time to time since then we have pointed out examples of this insidious practice. During this time not less than a score of persons have come to us with alleged examples of tampering with the news on the part of The Associated Press. All of these cases we looked into with care and pains, and many of the same cases were investigated by other publications and persons. We have never found a case that justified us in publishing the details or in making any charge of wilful distortion against The Associated Press. A very different point is this: The Associated Press gets much of its news from official sources, and the news, as given out by headquarters, is apt to be colored the way officials like it to look. It is entirely natural for The Associated Press representative at St. Petersburg, for example, to keep in close touch with Russian officials, for they are the source of nine-tenths of the news which he must send out. In less degree, the same is true of Washington. The information sent over The Associated Press wires is likely to have a slight official bias. But that The Associated Press changes it or colors it in the process we do not believe. That the agitators who are the most conspicuous assailants of The Associated Press, should

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confuse these two very different things is characteristic of their wobbly cerebration.

Is There a News Monopoly?

The Associated Press is also defending itself against the charge of being a monopoly. Mr. Will Irwin, for example, says that The Associated Press ought to be required to give its services, under proper restrictions and conditions, to any newspaper which asks for it. To this the President of The Associated Press, Mr. Frank B. Noyes of Washington, D. C., replies that

> a competitor has as much right to demand and receive the same news service as he would to demand and receive the use of the other paper's press, composing room, editors, and reporters. Just as much right and no more. And that is absolutely no right.

This is the way railroad presidents used to talk a few years ago. On this point Mr. Irwin is clearly in tune with the times, and it is only a matter of time when The Associated Press will have to conform to the current beliefs about monopoly. Where a city has only one morning paper and where that morning paper, possessing The Associated Press franchise, is able to keep the franchise exclusively and prevent any other paper from getting it, there arise all the mischiefs which attend monopoly. Indeed, we think the subjection of the agencies for distributing news to the public may go even farther. A single newspaper in a city, or two or three newspapers, can inflict injustices and discriminations quite as intolerable as the worst practices of street-car or public-lighting monopolies. We think the time will come when newspapers will be recognized as having the qualities of a public utility, and will be subject to inquiry and regulation by commissions similar to those which have arisen in many States during the past few years to supervise railroad, telephone, and lighting corporations.

MR. STONE'S REPLY

Mr. Stone "took judicial notice" of these remarks, and *Collier's* of July 11 contained his reply, as follows:

EDITOR, *Collier's:*

I have read with interest the editorial upon The Associated Press which appeared in your issue of June 6th. While I recognize an evident purpose to be just, it seems clear to me that your suggestion, that "the information sent over The Associated Press wires is likely

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to have a slight official bias," lacks force. The despatches of the Association are very widely published. If there is the sort of bias you intimate, it should be easy to furnish some illustration. Such evidence would certainly be more convincing. In truth there is no basis for the idea, as can be demonstrated, I am confident, in any specific case that may be presented.

In respect of your other contention, "that The Associated Press ought to be required to give its service, under proper restrictions and conditions, to any newspaper which asks for it," there are several things to say. First, your attempt to find analogy between this business and that of a railroad must fail utterly. The railroad is, in the very nature of the case, a common carrier. Not only does it fall under the proper legal rule which applied to the coach, the cab, and the ferry, long before the railroad existed, but it enjoys certain peculiar privileges, such as the right of eminent domain, etc., which gives the public a distinct claim upon it. On the other hand, The Associated Press enjoys no exceptional right of any sort. It is simply a voluntary union of a number of gentlemen for the employment of a certain staff of news reporters to serve them jointly. For its work it derives no advantage from the Government, from any State or municipality, from any corporation, or from any person. Its service is a purely personal one, and never, except under the long-since abolished slave laws, has any Government sought to compel personal service, save in cases of voluntarily assumed contracts, or of adjudgments for crime. The output of The Associated Press is not the news; it is its own story of the news. There can be no monopoly in news. At the point of origin, Havana, the destruction of the *Maine* was known by every man, woman, and child. Any one could have written a story of it. The Associated Press men did. It was their own story. Who shall say that they, or those who employed them, were not entitled to its exclusive use? And is this not equally true, whether the employer be one man, or ten men, or nine hundred men acting in co-operation?

You say, "Where a city has only one morning paper and where that morning paper, possessing The Associated Press franchise, is able to keep the franchise exclusively and prevent any other paper from getting it, there arise all the mischiefs which attend monopoly." To this let me say that there is no such case, nor has there been in the life of The Associated Press, of which you speak. If there were, Mr. Noyes's remark that "a competitor has as much right to demand and receive the same news service as he would to demand and receive the use of the other's press, composing-room, editors, and reporters," would unanswerably apply. But as to the facts: The existing Associated Press began business on September 29, 1900, with 612 members publishing daily newspapers in 295 cities and

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towns. In the thirteen years and nine months which have elapsed since that date, 627 new members, publishing daily newspapers in 434 cities and towns, have been admitted. As you will observe, this means an average of about one new member elected each week. Meanwhile members have resigned, newspapers have failed or ceased publication, so that the 627 elected does not represent an increase of that number on the membership roll. The present membership is 891.

As to the exclusive right, my answer is that there is no exclusive right. There is what is called a "right of protest," which is simply the right of a member to say that *the Board of Directors* cannot elect a new member in his field, but must leave the question of election to the membership at large. And even this "right of protest" is held by less than one-fourth of the members. No such right has been granted to any member in over thirteen years, and, since it requires a vote of seven-eighths of the total membership of the Association to grant it, none is likely to be granted within your lifetime or mine, to say the least.

Some applicants have failed of election, it is true. But in the great majority of such cases they have failed for other reasons, and not because of the exercise of any protest right. Since the Association is a co-operative one, making no profit, there is no fund out of which to provide for the delinquency of one who may be unable to pay for the service. And as contracts for leased wires run over a considerable period, the failure of a member to pay his share of the expenses may become a serious thing. If The Associated Press were a money-making venture, it would be justified in taking the risks which merchants are accustomed to reckon on in making credit.

This is one of the difficulties which would be involved in any attempt to compel the organization to give its service to all applicants. An increased charge would necessarily be paid by the thrifty, solvent members to provide for the improvident or untrustworthy.

Any one may withdraw from The Associated Press. What holds it together? The confidence of the members and of the public in its integrity. The only property it has is its good will. Is this a thing in which an applicant may claim a legal right to share?

In the case of the New York *Sun*, it should be said that the proprietors of that paper have never sought admission to membership in the Association. On February 19, 1897, when the paper was under the control of Charles A. Dana and William M. Laffan, there appeared in italics at the top of its editorial columns an announcement that the paper would not join The Associated Press, but would collect the news for itself. This policy was pursued until the death of both of the men named. And thereafter the present manager declined to make application for membership, but, instead, presented

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a petition to the Attorney-General of the United States asking that he institute proceedings against The Associated Press as an unlawful organization. This was not an appeal for aid; it was an effort to destroy a competitor. For it must be borne in mind that the New York *Sun* has a news-collecting and distributing agency of its own and has had such an agency for over twenty years.

But you say "the time will come when newspapers will be recognized as having the qualities of a public utility, and will be subject to inquiry and regulation by commissions similar to those which have risen in many States during the past few years to supervise railroads, telephone and lighting corporations." Well, then we shall have turned back the clock three hundred years, and John Milton and his "Plea for unlicensed printing" were all in vain. The first Amendment to the Federal Constitution will be accounted a mistake, and we shall be face to face with a method of governmental administration once delighted in by the Stationers' Company and the Star Chamber.

As long ago as March, 1867, a writer in *Harper's Magazine* said: "The American public are a little superstitious about The Associated Press, and the feeling results from that common and natural cause of all superstitions—ignorance." That such ignorance exists now, as it did then, is undeniably true. But it would be altogether unfair to suspect that this lack of knowledge on the part of the public is due to any effort by the Association, or its management, to veil in secrecy either its scheme of organization, or its method of operation. Any one who is anxious, or even willing, to investigate it will find no obstacle. Neither the membership nor the management has any apology to offer for the work. Instead, it is believed that the Association is engaged in a distinctly meritorious endeavor.

Does The Associated Press receive or distribute to its members all of the news of the day? By no means. Nor is it intended that it shall. There are news fields which, however important, it is forbidden to enter. These are the fields which, by the proprieties, are left for exploration to the enterprise of the individual newspapers. What may it do and what may it not do? It may and should report the consequential events fairly, or as nearly as is possible for human beings to do so. It may not go further. And herein lies in large measure the misunderstanding of the well-intentioned public.

As an illustration: If a "pogrom" occurs in a Russian town, The Associated Press should tell dispassionately the story of the event. But it is not permitted to even say whether the thing is right or wrong. If President Wilson goes to the Capitol and urges a repeal of the statue exempting American coastwise vessels from the payment of the Panama Canal tolls, and if Senator O'Gorman or Republican House Leader Mann or Democratic House Leader Under-

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wood takes issue with President Wilson, The Associated Press calmly reports both sides and must give no hint that either side is right or wrong.

But, says some one, this sort of negative work has no value. It sees a great wrong and makes no sign of disapproval. It sees a movement, for the betterment of mankind, which is of the highest moment and does not lend a hand to help the thing along. Let us see. There is an underlying belief that the American people are capable of self-government. If so, they must needs be able to form a judgment. And we conceive it to be of very great importance that the people be given the facts, free from the slightest bias, leaving to them the business of forming their own judgment. Let us see what any other method of dealing with the news of the day must mean. If a news agency is to present somebody's view of the right or wrong of the world's happenings, whose view is it to be? And what assurance are we to have that the somebody's view is the right view? And if it is the wrong view, what then?

It was out of all this that there grew a co-operative Associated Press. The business of news-gathering in a dominant way was in the hands of three men. They were responsible to no one. They could send out to the newspapers anything they chose and no one could call them to account. A large number of newspaper proprietors revolted. They felt that, far beyond their own interests there was a great public question involved. They set about the development of a plan which should ensure an honest, truthful, and impartial reporting of events. After deliberation, they concluded that the safest way was to organize a co-operative association of newspaper proprietors, representing diverse interests and thus put the institution under pledge to report the truth, and, to guarantee impartiality, the news service was to be subjected to the scrutiny and the censorship of the varied views of its membership.

Thus the business started. It took four years of hard struggle to wrest the business from private control; and then it succeeded. The co-operative association was accepted by enough publishers to make it a success. The very fundamental principle was that it, its method of organization, and its news service should be subject to criticism. With an appreciation of their responsibility, and a full recognition of their duty to the American people, they sought to work out the problem before them in the best possible fashion. If they did not succeed, then the effort of as patriotic and well-minded set of men as this country has ever known is a failure. At one stage of the contest they pledged themselves for hundreds of thousands of dollars as a guaranty fund to break the chains which, at the moment, bound the American press to enslavement by the three men to whom I have referred.

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THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

I have no thought of saying The Associated Press is perfect. The frailties of human nature attach to it. But of this I am certain: If, in its form of organization, or its method of operation, it is in violation of any law, divine or human, it is the very last institution in this country to seek to avoid its responsibility. If any one can devise or suggest a better way to do the work it is seeking to do, it will be glad to adopt it, or to permit some one else to put it in operation. The thing it is striving for is a truthful, unbiased report of the world's happenings, under forms that are legal, and not only conformable to statutes, but ethical in the highest degree.

Sincerely yours,

MELVILLE E. STONE.

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NEWS-GATHERING

EXCERPTS FROM AN ARTICLE REGARDING THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEWSPAPERS

By Melville E. Stone

The following excerpts from an article by Mr. Stone give an interesting outline of the beginnings of journalism, so far as they are known. The remainder of the article was devoted to the history of newspaper development in America, virtually duplicating matter contained in his "Century Magazine" articles and various addresses, included in this volume.

IT IS doubtful if any one can say definitely when and where the newspaper business began. Perhaps the best guess is that it originated with the *Acta Diurna* of Rome before the Christian era. But this is by no means certain. The Chinese claim to have used type and to have published newspapers much earlier. And in confirmation of this, copies of the Roman papers, still preserved, contain references to their Chinese contemporaries.

The *Acta Diurna* was founded by the Roman Government for the purpose of communicating official, and also general, information to their legions in foreign countries. The victories they achieved in one field of action were reported to their armies elsewhere and served to stimulate them to fresh triumphs. A fraction of "home news" was added. Some of it was of the "human interest story" sort. For instance, on the fourth of the Kalends of a certain April, the journal contained

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the following interesting items concerning the Eternal City:

It thundered, and an oak was struck with lightning in that part of the Palatine hill called Summa Velia, shortly after noon.

A fight happened in a tavern at the foot of Banker Street, and in it the proprietor of the Hog-in-Armour Inn was dangerously hurt.

The Aedile Tertinius fined the butchers for selling meat which had not been inspected by the market overseers. The fine is to be used to build a chapel for the temple of Tellus.

Since this sheet was written, and but a limited number of copies issued, it cannot, after all, be called a newspaper in the modern sense. It was rather a news-letter. And news-letters were not uncommon for many centuries thereafter. Indeed, until the introduction of printing in 1450, such were the means of news distribution throughout the civilized world. These communications were sent from city to city and the privilege of reading them was sold for a trifle by the recipients. There were not only news-letters, but news-circulars. They were written chiefly from the Dutch and German cities, but also from London and Paris.

As a natural result of this business, those who received a number of these letters and circulars rewrote their contents into a single composite sheet, which they called a news-paper. The earliest of these seems to have been issued in Venice, and the charge for permission to read one was fixed at a *gazetta*, a coin of about the value of an American cent. From this originated the word "*Gazette*," which became the usual title of the newspaper in many places. The Venetian papers were issued once a month, and their proprietors were forbidden by law to print them for more than a century after movable types came into use.

Meanwhile, however, and immediately following the development of typography, printed "Gazettes" appeared in a number of German cities, notably in Nuremberg and Augsburg.

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The interdiction of the Venetian republic was characteristic of the general attitude of all of the Governments toward printing. The danger of a rapid and widespread diffusion of information and the attendant possibility of sedition, was promptly noted by those in authority. A struggle for a free press began at once and lasted for more than three centuries. At first freedom of opinion was not permissible. Much less, freedom of speech, or of publication of opinion. Punishment for the utterance of one's beliefs was practically universal, as witness the punishments of Huss and Savonarola, the Spanish Inquisition, Luther's attack on the Anabaptists, the martyrdoms in England, the burning of Servetus, the massacre of the Huguenots, and the ghastly orgies of Alva in Holland. In such an hour it was quite logical that the printer should be an object of condemnation. Everywhere there was a struggle toward the light, but everywhere also there was repression and persecution. There was always a small remnant of the people who, like Socrates, back in Greece, would rather face death than conceal their thoughts. But always there was the mastering hand of Sovereignty, holding as did Jack Cade, in Shakespeare's play of Henry the Sixth, that Lord Say should be beheaded ten times, since he had caused printing to be used, and, contrary to the king, his crown and dignity had built a paper-mill.

In 1534 Henry the Eighth forbade any one to print an English book without permission from the king's licensers. Three years later Parliament gave the Crown absolute authority to regulate the press. This, in turn, was followed by the establishment of the Stationers' Company and the Star Chamber, both of which exercised the power of censorship. Queen Elizabeth and King James issued proclamations and injunctions against the press without limit. Under Cromwell's protectorate the work of the Star Chamber was suspended and restrictions were imposed by parliamentary committees, but they were no less rigorous. It was then that John

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JACKS

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FREDERICK ROY MARTIN
Asst. General Manager

J. R. YOUATT
Treasurer

JACKSON S. ELLIOTT
Chief, News Department

KENT COOPER
Chief, Traffic Department

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Milton issued his "Areopagitica: A Plea for Unlicensed Printing," which Augustine Birrell has well said was the noblest pamphlet in "our English, the language of men ever famous in the achievements of liberty." But it fell upon deaf ears and, for the time, nothing came of it. In this pamphlet Milton said:

> Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties.

It was in America that a free press was finally established. Only eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims one Rev. Joseph Glover, a wealthy Puritan preacher, left England with type, paper, and press to establish the first printing office in what is now the territory of the United States. On the way over he died at sea, and his widow not long after married Dunster, the first president of Harvard College. The printing-press was then set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and there began a publication business which became wonderfully famous in its day.

All went well until in an unfortunate hour Dunster denied the doctrine of infant baptism, was removed from the presidency of Harvard College, and lost his printing-press.

Both in England and in her American colonies there was a sharp censorship upon the business, and it was only five years after Dunster set up his press in Cambridge that John Milton wrote his immortal plea.

It was in Boston also, fifty-two years later, that the first American newspaper was issued. It lasted but one day, and the only copy known to be in existence is now in the Public Record Office in London. All that century was marked by an unending struggle between the printers and the public authorities. There were indictments, trials, fines, and jailings without number. Finally, one hundred years after the first printing-press arrived in Boston, an event of very great importance occurred in

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New York. One John Peter Zenger, printer of the new weekly *Journal*, criticized the British Governor. He was arrested and thrown into jail. It was the rule of that day, here on American soil as in England, in respect of libel, that "the greater the truth the greater the libel."

Then old Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, fairly tottering to the grave, came to the rescue, and in a great speech announced as the proper doctrine the dogma which became the law of the land, that the truth when printed from good motives and for justifiable ends should constitute a full defence in any action for libel, and that in cases of this sort the jurors should be the judges of both the law and the fact. And upon this thesis Hamilton won. Of Zenger's acquittal Gouverneur Morris said, "It was the dawn of that liberty that afterward revolutionized America." Yet, important as it was, it did not settle the question.

In Massachusetts repressive measures against the press continued for nearly another hundred years.

Three great events occurred in 1811. First, the practical settlement for all time on American soil of this question of the libel law. There had been repeated efforts both before and after the Revolution to break away from the English common-law principle and to establish the doctrine that the truth of a publication could be put in evidence as a defence. But they had not been altogether successful. Among those active in the matter were John Adams, Harrison Gray Otis, and Theophilus Parsons. They had secured the defeat of one constitution for the State of Massachusetts because it did not contain this provision.

In 1811 Chief-Justice Parsons settled the matter by an act that alone should have given him a place in the journalistic Walhalla. One Abijah Adams, of Boston, was brought to trial for the publication of words criticising Parsons himself. Then the Chief Justice, true to his convictions of right, publicly waived his official

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prerogative and asked the prosecuting officer to permit Adams to plead the truth in justification and to introduce any evidence he might have in support of his plea. He went even further and when Abijah Adams was convicted, Parsons publicly urged his pardon. The common-law doctrine was then swept away and thenceforward in practically every State in the land it became a settled principle that the truth when published from good motives and for justifiable ends should constitute a complete defence.

The second event which occurred in this interesting year of 1811 was the invention by one Frederick Koenig of the cylinder press. Until then all printing had been done by the old-fashioned hand press and eight hundred impressions an hour was the extreme limit of output. John Walters, of the London *Times*, adopted Koenig's invention, applied steam, and in two years quadrupled the impressions per hour of his paper. The development of the press from Koenig's initial machine down to this hour, when we have cylinder presses capable of printing hundreds of thousands of perfected papers an hour, is familiar to all.

The third and even more significant event occurred on November 20, 1811, when there appeared in the *Columbia Sentinel*, of Boston, the following announcement:

> These News Books, etc., commenced and so satisfactorily conducted by Mr. Gilbert, are now transferred to the care of Mr. Samuel Topliff, Jr., a young gentleman of respectability, industry, and information and who will, we doubt not, continue the Marine and General News Books with great satisfaction to the patrons and friends of the Reading Room.

This was the beginning of the business of systematic news-gathering in all the world. Topliff went out into Boston Harbor, met the incoming vessels from Europe, gathered all possible information from the ships' captains and recorded it in the books of the Coffee House, from

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which it was copied and printed in the newspapers of the day. Later he established correspondents at most of the important European cities, and sold their letters to the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia journals. Out of this work developed The Associated Press.

* * * *

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STONE AND THE LINOTYPE

SKETCH OF THE PART PLAYED BY MELVILLE E. STONE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE MERGENTHALER TYPESETTING MACHINE

IT IS appropriate, even if not widely known, that the newspaper world should owe the first exploitation of the Mergenthaler Typesetting Machine—better known as the Linotpye—to Melville E. Stone. This is not to say that it would not have been done without his interposition; but the fact is that it required a man of just such experience as his, not only with the practical side of the newspaper business, but with the actualities of machinery and manufacturing, to recognize at once both the merits and the imperfections of a piece of mechanism destined to revolutionize one of the basic handicrafts of the world.

William D. Eaton, a man well known in Chicago newspaper circles, early in 1885 first called Melville Stone's attention to this matter, telling him of a young German inventor in Baltimore named Ottmar Mergenthaler, who had a machine to set type. Up to this time the undertaking had been financed by Messrs. L. G. Hine, Frank Hume, and Kurtz Johnston, and certain other men resident in Washington, but they had reached the limit of their financial capacity, and this thing required large backing. Mr. Eaton's description of the invention awakened Mr. Stone's curiosity. Proposals of machinery to take the place of fingers in typesetting were not new, and other devices, some of which afterward attained for a time at least a certain degree of success,

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were under experiment. But this machine, designed to cast the type direct from matrices selected by a keyboard similar to that of a typewriter, was something fundamentally different. Mr. Stone went to Baltimore, visited Mergenthaler's little shop, and instantly recognized the great merit of the invention. Returning to Chicago, he took initial steps to provide the money needed for the large-scale exploitation of the machine. He invited a number of friends, all active in the newspaper and printing business, to meet him on a certain day in Baltimore. There was prompt response, and as a result a syndicate was formed, consisting originally of Mr. Stone himself; Whitelaw Reid, of the New York *Tribune;* William H. Rand, of the firm of Rand, McNally & Co; Stilson Hutchins, then proprietor of the Washington *Post* (who already had participated in the preliminary financing of Mergenthaler); William Henry Smith, General Manager of the then existing confederation of news-gathering associations known as The Associated Press, and Victor F. Lawson, Stone's partner in the Chicago *Daily News*. On March 14, 1885, the following preliminary agreement was entered into on behalf of the various parties in interest, Mr. Hutchins representing Mergenthaler and the Washington group of the earlier financiers; Mr. Stone the group of associates whom he had enlisted in the matter:

MEMORANDUM of agreement to be entered into between M. E. Stone, representing himself, Whitelaw Reid, William Henry Smith, Richard Smith, W. H. Rand, W. N. Haldeman, John C. New, and two others to be named and unobjectionable to all parties on the one hand; and Stilson Hutchins for himself and not more than four associates on the other hand. Stone and associates to purchase 5,000 shares of National Typographic Company stock at $50 per share, which Hutchins is to procure at that price. Hutchins and associates to hold and represent 15,100 shares of stock, and to engage with M. E. Stone and associates in a contract to place the 20,100 shares, owned and represented by all the parties included in this agreement, in escrow to control the organization in perpetuity.

The Directors to be chosen when this is done to be made up as

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follows: Two to represent the holders of the 5,000 shares, two to represent Hutchins, and two or more to represent Hutchins's associates holding with him the 15,100 shares—out of a Board of nine, and this proportion is to be maintained in a larger or smaller Board and the same proportion is to be maintained in the Board of Directors during the life of the contract in escrow, indicated above.

It is further to be agreed that while Hutchins is securing the 5,000 shares of stock, Stone for himself and his associates to select a competent attorney to examine patents and organization of the company and that Stone and associates are to be allowed to put the present machine with automatic justifier to any reasonable and trying test, and to be allowed to take ten or more columns, if required, of the product and use the same in any paper or job office desired, but no publicity to be made thereof.

In case tests and legal examination are satisfactory, which are to be completed in 20 days from date, the money to pay for 5,000 shares is to be raised and deposited within ten days thereafter.

That done, Mr. Hutchins is to capitalize his contract with the company at $200,000, and Stone and his associates are to be given as further consideration for purchasing 5,000 shares of stock at $50 per share a one-third interest in said $200,000 of stock, to be divided as Stone and his associates may agree.

It is to be agreed that Stone and his 7 or 9 associates being engaged in the conduct of printing establishments shall have machines for their own use at one-half the rate of expense charged the general public.

(Signed) STILSON HUTCHINS,
(for himself and his associates.)

MELVILLE E. STONE,
(for himself and his associates.)

The original syndicate headed by Mr. Stone was somewhat modified, Messrs. Richard Smith, Haldeman, and New dropping out and being replaced by others; the new organization was completed and took control, and Melville Stone became the first chairman of the Board of Directors. It was William H. Rand who gave the machine the name, "Line-o'-type," which, compressed into "Linotype," is now almost a household world the world over. The first twelve machines were placed, at Stone's suggestion, in the office of the New York *Tribune;* the second twelve in that of his own paper, the Chicago *Daily News.*

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As for Ottmar Mergenthaler, in the fashion characteristic of inventors, he never was satisfied with the machine; always there arose in his mind ideas of improvements and changes that ought to be made. If he had been left to himself, it is doubtful if ever a fully perfected machine would have reached the market. It became necessary to divorce him from the manufacturing and marketing side of the business and to establish him in a laboratory where he could go on inventing and experimenting to his heart's content. Financially, he was treated handsomely.

The Linotype has been enormously remunerative, as it promised and deserved to be. But the stream of profit did not flow to Melville Stone. When in the spring of 1888 he retired from the newspaper business he sold to Victor Lawson not only his whole interest in the Chicago *Daily News*, but also his holdings in the Mergenthaler Linotype.

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VERSE BY AND ABOUT M. E. S.

THE intimate friends of Melville Stone know him as a man of versatility, a public speaker of exceptional ability, a writer of force and originality, but not all even of these know that he has been all his life a writer of verse. He does not regard himself as a poet, but he does from time to time yield to an uncontrollable impulse to say his say in verse. Much of it has been written for special occasions; the famous Fellowship Club of Chicago, in which he was a guiding spirit, knew him as its Poet Laureate.

Typical of the verse he wrote for the club was one in tribute to Joe Jefferson, for the occasion of a breakfast which was given by the Fellowship Club in honor of Jefferson and his "All Star Cast" on the morning of Friday, May 15, 1896:

A TOAST TO THE MASTER

Air: "I am dying, Egypt, dying"

Here's your health, dear Rip Van Winkle,
  Long and prosperous be your day;
Take your seat beside the fireplace,
  In the old familiar way.
Fill your glass and tell your story,
  As you've done these many years;
While the friends who sit around you
  Answer you in smiles and tears.
When again you climb the mountain,
  And have reached old Pisgah's crest,
Peaceful be your final slumber,
  Calm and dreamless be your rest.
Till upon that other morning,
  Wakened by the angel's song,
You shall join the band of players
  Who compose th' immortal throng.

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"M. E. S."—HIS BOOK

ON the evening of February 14, 1898, the Fellowship Club held a memorial service upon the death of Moses P. Handy, the well-known journalist, who had been a member of the club. For that occasion Mr. Stone wrote the following, which was sung to the air, "Bendemeer's Stream": ·

There's a valley that lies on the Chesapeake shore,
  In the far-away Southland, 'neath skies that are bright,
And that valley is sacred as never before,
  For it holds in its keeping a loved one to-night.
He sleeps in the peace of that sanctified ground,
  And angels keep ward o'er his grass-covered bed.
His slumber is broken by never a sound,
  For he sleeps his last sleep—our beloved is dead!

As we peer through the mists that envelop our eyes,
  And we wonder what God in His wisdom may mean;
Like the sunbeams of morning, sweet memories rise,
  To dispel the gray clouds that bedarken the scene;
And zephyrs waft incense of love o'er the wave,
  To hallow that spot on the Chesapeake shore;
A spirit undying comes forth from the grave—
  Our beloved but sleepeth—he lives evermore!

* * * *

During the Spanish-American War an incident of battle inspired Stone to this in dialect:

MODOC JIM

His name wuz Modoc Jim, an' ez to him,
  He wuz a nigger trooper from the West.
In looks, he wa'nt a bute, but he could shoot,—
  He wore a practice medal on his breast.

The fellows said he'd steal, and didn't feel
  Quite comfortable when he wuz 'round,
He had a hang-dog look, an' no one took
  Much pains to please the sneaking, treach'rous hound.

He had a nigger wife, whose poor, lone life
  He made as miserable as he could.
She lived outside a post, out on the coast
  An' never had enough uv clothes or food.

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VERSE BY AND ABOUT M. E. S.

Once't in an Injun fight, out on the right
  Alone he held the firing line all day.
It wuz a plucky stand, and the command
  Couldn't kick, when he wuz given a sergeantcy.

An' then there came a call, an' one an' all
  Went down to Cuba, 'gainst the Spanish Don.
We marched along the way from Siboney
  In mud an' rain, an' under broiling sun.

When in the blinding storm 'twuz hard to form,
  An' we wuz going sorto 'zye please,
Old Jim struck out ahead, an' only said
  He hated fighting where we wuz short of trees.

While he wuz taking aim a Mauser came
  An' ripped an ugly hole acrost his breast.
An' when old Modoc dropped, the doctor stopped,
  An' 'lowed 'twuz time that wound wuz dressed.

But Jim said, "No, not much." He made a crutch
  Of a dead man's gun an' stood an' just fought on,
An' pushed out to the front an' done his stunt
  'Til 'nother ball came an' his leg wuz gone.

He dumped down on the ground, but nary sound
  Of grief or sorrow passed his quivering lip.
Tho' mighty near to death, an' short of breath,
  He laughed an' only said he hoped we'd whip.

When in the hospital, a Red Cross pal
  Asked if he'd like to cable home, he said:
"There ain't so much to tell, just say 'am well,'"
  An' then he kinder fainted,—an' wuz dead.

* * * *

AND verse, of a sort, has been written *about* Melville Stone. Here is one of the best of these efforts—I have been unable to identify the author:

WORKING FOR MELVILLE E. STONE

The men who work for Melville Stone, of The Associated Press,
Are nearly all the people who are doing things, I guess;
To be frank with you, it's only fair to state, as he would say,
That, seeing as how it is like this, we have to toil away
To gather up the news he wants and send it to his mill;
The other works may cease to go, but his keep running still;
He never gives us any rest, he keeps the wires hot,
And you can't tell by his countenance the kind of cards he's got.

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"M. E. S."—HIS BOOK

I met a man in Russia who possessed a nervous air,
He'd a bunch of guards around him who were very long on hair,
And I asked the little fellow who appeared to boss the crowd
What his name was and what reason he could give for looking proud;
He replied with pleasing candor, as a bomb went past his ear:
"At the present time I'm holding down the job of ruler here,
But aside from merely sitting on a very shaky throne
I am always pretty busy making news for Melville Stone."

Once when I was in Morocco—it is needless to say when—
I engaged in conversation with some petticoated men;
One of them they call the Sultan—he was looking rather blue—
And I casually asked him what a sultan had to do;
He was thoughtful for a moment, and he looked me up and down,
While a band of dusky rebels could be seen approaching town;
Then he pulled his skirt around him and he answered with a groan:
"I am generally busy making news for M. E. Stone."

So it was where e'er I traveled, kaisers, kings and dukes and earls,
Fortune-hunting counts and barons, rich and pretty Yankee girls,
Men of every race and station, men of all the creeds and hues,
All had one great occupation, which, in short, was—making news!
When they launched a ship at Belfast, when they sailed a race at Kiel,
When the lords frowned with disfavor, hearing Ireland's appeal,
When the millionaire, while scorching, through some Frenchman's fence was thrown,
They were all engaged in making bits of news for Brother Stone.

To be frank with you it's only fair to state that Lawson, Noyes,
Ridder, Taylor, Howell, Nelson, Knapp and Barr and all the boys,
Whether they're in San Francisco, New Orleans or Syracuse,
Have to work for Stone, supplying his demands for daily news.
Teddy, Taft and Rockefeller, Landis, Harriman and Fish,
Having knowledge of his diet, heap their dainties on his dish:
Seeing as it is like this, we may as well at once confess
That we all work hard for Melville, of The Associated Press.

* * * *

DURING the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1908 the procession of old printers, dilapidated ex-reporters and editors, and other sorts of peripatetics, all in more or less derelict condition, who turned up to remind Melville Stone of their former glory as sometime employees of his, and to claim largess on that account, became unusually large. It was always a feature of the doings on important occasions when

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Stone was in command; this time—probably because it was at Chicago, where he always finds a host of old acquaintances—it took on the aspect of a plague. That explains why one of The Associated Press staff felt impelled to register the state of affairs in verse:

THE IMMORTALS

Heroes of Balaklava, of Waterloo and Nile—
There used to be a lot of 'em; they lasted quite a while.
But one by one they dropped away, they died from time to time—
Some died of queer diseases, and some were hanged for crime,
Some died of drinking too much rum, some died at home in bed,
The point that I now seek to make is—most of 'em are dead.
The men who fit at Bunker Hill, at Yorktown and at sea,
Are sleeping now their last long sleep, from earthly sorrows free.

But there's a noble band of men who live on, year on year;
You meet them everywhere you go—they seem to live on beer.
You meet them in Chicago, at sea and on the land,
In Timbuctoo and Hong Kong, at The Hague and on the Strand,
They never die, they never work, they turn up night and day.
You speak to them with cuss-words, but they will not go away,
They seldom wash, they never shave; they have one shirt—or none;
The tie by which they cling to life—they "used to work for Stone."

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APPENDIX

A. Directory of Officers and Directors:
Illinois Corporation.
New York Corporation.

B. List of Officers and Directors and of Members of The Associated Press, 1917–1918.

C. Certificate of Incorporation, By-Laws and Resolutions of the Board of Directors of The Associated Press.

D. Index.

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HAROLD MARTIN
EASTERN DIVISION

PAUL COWLES
CENTRAL DIVISION

L. C. PROBERT
SOUTHERN DIVISION

EDGAR T. CUTTER
WESTERN DIVISION

DIVISION SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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A

DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(Incorporated in Illinois)

1892–1900

BARR, ALBERT, J., Pittsburg *Post*—Director, 1893–1900.
BELO, A. H., Dallas & Galveston *News*—Second Vice-President, 1894.
BOWLES, SAMUEL, Springfield *Republican*—First Vice-President, May–Sept., 1900.
BUTLER, E. H., Buffalo *News*—Director, 1894.
CALL, EDWARD P., New York *Evening Post*—Director, May–Sept., 1900.
CARVALHO, S. S., New York *World*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1893–1895.
COLLIER, WILLIAM A., Memphis *Appeal-Avalanche*—Director, 1892–1893.
DEYOUNG, M. H., San Francisco *Chronicle*—Director, 1892–1900.
DIEHL, CHARLES S.—Assistant General Manager and Assistant Secretary, 1893–1900; General Manager, May–Sept., 1900.
DRISCOLL, FREDERICK, St. Paul *Pioneer-Press*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1892–1899.
GRASTY, CHARLES H., Baltimore *News*—Director, May–Sept., 1900.
HESING, WASHINGTON, Chicago *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*—Director, 1892–1893.
HOWELL, CLARK, Atlanta *Constitution*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1899–1900.
JENKINS, ARTHUR, Syracuse *Herald*—Director, 1898–1900.
KNAPP, CHARLES W., St. Louis *Republic*—Secretary pro tem., 1893; Director and Member Executive Committee, 1892–1900; President, 1900.
LAWSON, VICTOR F., Chicago *Record* and Chicago *Daily News*—President, 1894–1900; Director and Member Executive Committee, 1892–1900.
McLEAN, W. L., Philadelphia *Bulletin*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1899–1900.
McLEAN, JOHN R., Cincinnati *Enquirer*—Second Vice-President, 1895.
McMICHAEL, CLAYTON, Philadelphia *North American*—Director, 1894–1898; Member Executive Committee, 1896–1898.

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MARKBREIT, L., Cincinnati *Volksblatt*—Director, 1896–1900.
NIXON, WILLIAM PENN, Chicago *Inter-Ocean*—President, 1892 and 1893.
NORRIS, JOHN, New York *World*—Director, 1896–1900; Member Executive Committee, 1899–1900.
NOYES, FRANK B., Washington *Star*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1894–1900.
O'MEARA, STEPHEN, Boston *Journal*—Director, 1896–1899; First Vice-President, 1900.
OTIS, GENERAL HARRISON GRAY, Los Angeles *Times*—Second Vice-President, 1900.
PERDUE, EUGENE H., Cleveland *Leader* and *News-Herald*—Director, 1892–1896.
RAPIER, THOMAS G., New Orleans *Picayune*—Director, 1895–1897; Second Vice-President, 1898–1899.
ROSEWATER, EDWARD, Omaha *Bee*—Director, May–Sept., 1900.
SCHNEIDER, GEORGE—Treasurer, 1893–1896.
SCRIPPS, JAMES E., Detroit *Tribune* and *Evening News*—Director, 1892–1896.
SMITH, DELAVAN—Secretary, 1892–1893.
SMITH, WILLIAM HENRY—Treasurer, 1892–1893; General Manager, 1892.
SMITH, HOKE, Atlanta *Journal*—Second Vice-President, 1896 and 1897.
STONE, MELVILLE E.—Secretary, 1894–1900; General Manager, 1893–1900.
SWAYNE, GENERAL WAGER—Associate General Counsel, 1895–1900.
TAFT, CHARLES P., Cincinnati *Times-Star*—First Vice-President, 1892–1893.
THOMPSON, GEORGE, St. Paul *Dispatch*—Director, May–Sept., 1900.
WALSH, JOHN R.—Treasurer, 1897–1900.
WHITE, HORACE, New York *Evening Post*—First Vice-President, 1894–1899.
WILSON, JOHN P.—General Counsel, 1892–1900.

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DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(*New York Corporation*)

1900–1918

ADLER, E. P., Davenport *Times*—Second Vice-President, 1917–1918.
ANTHONY, B. H., New Bedford *Standard*—Second Vice-President, 1915.
BAKER, E. H., Cleveland *Plain Dealer*—Director, 1917–1919.
* BARR, ALBERT J., Pittsburg *Post*—Director, 1900–1912.
* BELO, A. H., Dallas *News*—Charter Director, 1900.
BOOTH, RALPH H., Muskegon *Chronicle*—First Vice-President, 1917–1918.
* BOWLES, SAMUEL, Springfield *Republican*—Director, 1912–1915.
BRICKELL, W. D., Columbus *Dispatch*—Director, 1903.
CABANISS, H. H., Augusta *Chronicle*—Second Vice-President, 1905.
CLARK, CHARLES HOPKINS, Hartford *Courant*—First Vice-President, 1907–1909; Director since 1910.
COWLES, W. H., Spokane *Spokesman-Review*—Director since 1911.
* DEYOUNG, M. H., San Francisco *Chronicle*—Director, 1900–1909.
* DIEHL, CHARLES S.—Assistant General Manager and Assistant Secretary, 1900–1911.
DOW, W. H., Portland *Express & Advertiser*—Second Vice-President, 1916.
ESTILL, J. H., Savannah *News*—Second Vice-President, 1904.
FAHEY, J. H., Boston *Traveler*—Second Vice-President, 1909.
* GRASTY, CHARLES H., Baltimore *News*, Baltimore *Sun*, St. Paul *Dispatch*—Director, 1900–1909; First Vice-President, 1914.
HASKELL, E. B., Boston *Herald*—First Vice-President, 1903.
HEMPHILL, J. C., Charleston *News & Courier*—First Vice-President, 1909.
HILL, CRAWFORD, Denver *Republican*—Second Vice-President, 1912 and 1913.
* HOWELL, CLARK, Atlanta *Constitution*—First Vice-President, 1900; Director since 1901.
JOHNSTON, R. M., Houston *Post*—First Vice-President, 1910 and 1911; Director since 1914.

* Served also under Illinois Corporation.

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JENNINGS, FREDERIC B.—General Counsel since incorporation.

* KNAPP, CHARLES W., St. Louis *Republic*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1900–1916.

LANGTRY, ALBERT P., Springfield *Union*—Director, 1903–1905.

* LAWSON, VICTOR F., Chicago *Daily News*—Director and Member Executive Committee since incorporation.

MacLENNAN, FRANK P., Topeka *State Journal*—Second Vice-President, 1910 and 1911.

McCLATCHY, V. S., Sacramento *Bee*—Director since 1910.

McKELWAY, ST. CLAIR, Brooklyn *Eagle*—Charter Director, 1900.

* McLEAN, W. L., Philadelphia *Bulletin*—Director since incorporation; Member Executive Committee since 1910.

MARTIN, FREDERICK ROY, Providence *Journal*—Director, 1912; resigned to become Assistant General Manager and Assistant Secretary. Now in office.

MOORE, D. D., New Orleans *Times-Picayune*—Second Vice-President, 1914; First Vice-President, 1915.

MORGAN, W. Y., Hutchinson *News*—Director, 1914–1916.

NELSON, W. R., Kansas City *Star* and *Times*—Second Vice-President, 1901 and 1902; Director, 1904–1914.

* NOYES, FRANK B., Washington *Star*—President, Director and Member Executive Committee since incorporation.

OCHS, ADOLPH S., New York *Times*—Charter Director and Treasurer, 1900; Director and Member Executive Committee since 1905.

* O'MEARA, STEPHEN, Boston *Journal*—Charter Director, 1900, and Director till 1903.

PATTERSON, THOMAS M., Denver *Rocky Mountain News*—Second Vice-President, 1900.

PULITZER, JOSEPH, JR., St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*—First Vice-President, 1916.

* RAPIER, THOMAS G., New Orleans *Picayune*—Director, 1900–1913.

RATHOM, JOHN R., Providence *Journal*—Director since 1917.

REID, WHITELAW, New York *Tribune*—Director, 1900–1904; Member Executive Committee, 1901–1904.

RHODES, R. N., Birmingham *News*—Second Vice-President, 1905–1908.

RIDDER, HERMAN, New York *Staats-Zeitung*—Director, 1900–1915; Treasurer, 1907–1909.

ROOK, CHARLES A., Pittsburg *Dispatch*—Director and Member Executive Committee since 1912.

SCOTT, HARVEY W., Portland *Oregonian*—Director, 1900–1910.

SEITZ, DON C., New York *World*—Director and Member Executive Committee, 1900–1901.

SNYDER, VALENTINE P.—Treasurer, 1900–1906.

* STONE, MELVILLE E.—Secretary and General Manager since incorporation.

* TAFT, CHARLES P., Cincinnati *Times-Star*—Director, 1900–1902.

* Served also under Illinois Corporation.

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APPENDIX

TAYLOR, GENERAL CHARLES H., Boston *Globe*—First Vice-President, 1904 and 1905 and 1912 and 1913; Director and Member Executive Committee, 1906–1911.

* THOMPSON, GEORGE, St. Paul *Dispatch*—Director, 1900–1907.

TOWN, D. E., Louisville *Herald*—Director since 1915.

VILLARD, OSWALD GARRISON, New York *Evening Post*—Director and Member Executive Committee since 1916.

WEISS, A. C., Duluth *Herald*—Director since 1916.

* WHITE, HORACE, New York *Evening Post*—First Vice-President, 1901–1902.

* WILSON, JOHN P.—Associate General Counsel, 1900–1902.

YOUATT, J. R.—Auditor, 1900–1909, when elected Treasurer. Now in office.

* Served also under Illinois Corporation.

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B

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(*New York Corporation*)

1917–1918

President, Frank B. Noyes, Washington *Star*.
First Vice-President, Ralph H. Booth, Muskegon *Chronicle*.
Second Vice-President, E. P. Adler, Davenport *Times*.
Secretary, Melville E. Stone, New York.
Assistant Secretary, Frederick Roy Martin, New York.
Treasurer, J. R. Youatt, New York.

Term Expires 1918—

W. H. Cowles, Spokane *Spokesman-Review*.
* Victor F. Lawson, Chicago *Daily News*.
D. E. Town, Louisville *Herald*.
R. M. Johnston, Houston *Post*.
* Oswald Garrison Villard, New York *Evening Post*.

Term Expires 1919—

* Charles A. Rook, Pittsburg *Dispatch*.
* Charles Hopkins Clark, Hartford *Courant*.
Clark Howell, Atlanta *Constitution*.
V. S. McClatchy, Sacramento *Bee*.
Elbert H. Baker, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

Term Expires 1920—

* Frank B. Noyes, Washington *Star*.
* W. L. McLean, Philadelphia *Bulletin*.
* Adolph S. Ochs, New York *Times*.
A. C. Weiss, Duluth *Herald*.
John R. Rathom, Providence *Journal*.

* Member of the Executive Committee.

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EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

51 Chambers Street, New York

General Manager—Melville E. Stone.
Assistant General Manager—Frederick Roy Martin.
Chief of News Department—Jackson S. Elliott.
Chief of Traffic Department—Kent Cooper.

DIVISION SUPERINTENDENTS

Eastern Division—Headquarters at New York; comprising the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Delaware and West Virginia. Harold Martin, Acting Superintendent.

Central Division—Headquarters at Chicago; comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota. Paul Cowles, Superintendent.

Southern Division—Headquarters at Washington; comprising the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Kentucky. L. C. Probert, Superintendent, and Chief of the Washington Bureau.

Western Division—Headquarters at San Francisco; comprising the States of California, Wyoming, Oregon, Colorado, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona. Edgar T. Cutter, Superintendent.

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MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(List Corrected to March 15, 1918)

Evening Papers—*Italics.*
Morning Papers—Roman.
¶ Evening and Sunday morning only.

* Sunday morning only.
† Spanish.
‡ German.
§ French.

ALABAMA

E. W. Barrett, Birmingham Age-Herald.
Victor H. Hanson, Birmingham *News.*
Charles E. Meeks, Gadsden *Times-News.*
J. E. Pierce, Huntsville *Times.*
Albert P. Bush, Mobile *News-Item.*
Frederick I. Thompson, Mobile Register.
W. T. Sheehan, Montgomery Advertiser.
Horace Hood, Montgomery *Journal.*
¶ F. T. Raiford, Selma *Times.*
M. S. Hansbrough, Sheffield *Tri-Cities Daily.*
¶ Edward Doty, Tuscaloosa *News & Times-Gazette.*

ALASKA

Charles E. Herron, Anchorage *Times.*
Harry G. Steel, Cordova *Times.*
J. H. Caskey, Fairbanks Citizen.
Edward C. Russell, Juneau Dispatch.
John W. Troy, Juneau *Empire.*
George S. Maynard, Nome *Daily Nugget.*
Harry V. Hoben, Seward *Gateway.*

ARIZONA

Cullen A. Cain, Bisbee Review.
James Logie, Douglas Dispatch.
George H. Kelly, Douglas *International.*
J. B. Wilmeth, Flagstaff *Northern Arizona Leader.*
C. E. Hogue, Globe Arizona Record.
Ernest Douglas, Jerome *News.*
L. C. Branson, Jerome *Sun.*
Cleve W. Van Dyke, Miami *Silver Belt.*
R. L. O'Neill, Nogales *Herald.*

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APPENDIX

C. H. Akers, Phœnix *Gazette.*
Dwight B. Heard, Phœnix Republican.
J. W. Milnes, Prescott Journal-Miner.
Frank H. Hitchcock, Tucson *Citizen.*
Clifton Mathews, Tucson Arizona Star.
J. H. Westover, Yuma Sun.

ARKANSAS

V. G. Richardson, Batesville *Record.*
W. E. Decker, Fort Smith Southwest American.
John F. D. Aue, Fort Smith *Times-Record.*
Charles M. Young, Helena *World.*
John A. Riggs, Hot Springs *New Era.*
J. G. Higgins, Hot Springs Sentinel-Record.
W. O. Troutt, Jonesboro *Sun.*
Elmer E. Clarke, Little Rock *Democrat.*
J. N. Heiskell, Little Rock Gazette.
P. H. Van Dyke, Newport *Independent.*
E. W. Freeman, Pine Bluff *Commercial.*
George H. Adams, Pine Bluff Graphic.
James L. Wadley, Texarkana *Texarkanian.*

CALIFORNIA

Alfred Harrell, Bakersfield *Californian.*
A. W. Mason, Bakersfield Echo.
Bert Perrin, Calexico *Chronicle.*
V. C. Richards, Chico Record.
A. B. Shaw, Coalinga *Record.*
Robert W. Weeks, El Centro *Press.*
Otis B. Tout, El Centro Progress.
F. W. Georgeson, Eureka *Humboldt Standard.*
J. H. Crothers, Eureka Times.
M. E. Perry, Fort Bragg *Chronicle.*
Chase S. Osborn, Jr., Fresno *Herald.*
Chester H. Rowell, Fresno Republican.
W. F. Prisk, Grass Valley Union.
F. V. Dewey, Jr., Hanford Journal.
M. F. Ihmsen, Los Angeles Examiner.
Edwin T. Earl, Los Angeles *Express.*
Harry Chandler, Los Angeles Times.
E. F. Forbes, Marysville Appeal.
Corwin Radcliffe, Merced *Sun.*
T. C. Hocking, Modesto Herald.
W. C. Brown, Monterey *Cypress & American.*
J. R. Knowland, Oakland *Tribune.*
George C. Mansfield, Oroville Register.
George W. Stewart, Porterville Messenger.
Leslie McAuliff, Porterville *Recorder.*
Ferd Hurst, Redding *Courier-Free Press.*
H. L. Moody, Redding Searchlight.

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F. K. Arthur, Redlands Review.
J. R. Gabbert, Riverside Enterprise.
V. S. McClatchy, Sacramento *Bee.*
L. E. Bontz, Sacramento Union.
P. P. Parker, Salinas Journal.
R. C. Harbison, San Bernardino Sun.
Read G. Dilworth, San Diego *Tribune.*
James MacMullen, San Diego Union.
R. A. Crothers, San Francisco *Bulletin.*
F. W. Kellogg, San Francisco *Call & Post.*
M. H. de Young, San Francisco Chronicle.
William R. Hearst, San Francisco Examiner.
Jay O. Hayes, San José Mercury Herald.
Thomas M. Storke, Santa Barbara *News.*
R. G. Fernald, Santa Barbara Press.
C. W. Waldron, Santa Cruz Sentinel.
A. A. Taylor, Santa Cruz *Surf.*
Ernest L. Finley, Santa Rosa Press-Democrat.
J. L. Phelps, Stockton Independent.
M. J. Nunan, Stockton *Record.*
John A. Rollins, Tulare Advance.
Charles A. Whitmore, Visalia Delta.
E. H. Haack, Watsonville Register.

COLORADO

L. C. Paddock, Boulder *Camera.*
A. A. Parkhurst, Boulder *News-Herald.*
Clarence P. Dodge, Colorado Springs Gazette.
C. C. Hamlin, Colorado Springs *Telegraph.*
William A. Kyner, Cripple Creek Times-Record.
¶ F. G. Bonfils, Denver *Post.*
Kent Shaffer, Denver Rocky Mountain News.
Samuel S. Sherman, Denver *Times.*
Rod S. Day, Durango Democrat.
George C. McCormick, Fort Collins Express.
R. B. Spencer, Fort Morgan *Times.*
J. A. Barclay, Grand Junction News.
Walter Walker, Grand Junction *Sentinel.*
Charles Hansen, Greeley Tribune-Republican.
Donald C. McCreery, Greeley *Tribune-Republican.*
Henry C. Butler, Leadville Herald-Democrat.
I. N. Stevens, Pueblo Chieftain.
John F. Vail, Pueblo *Star-Journal.*
J. C. Scott, Sterling *Advocate.*
¶ Jesse G. Northcutt, Trinidad *Chronicle-News.*

CONNECTICUT

J. M. Emerson, Ansonia *Sentinel.*
Floyd Tucker, Bridgeport *Times.*

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George C. Waldo, Jr., Bridgeport *Standard-American.*
Archibald McNeil, Jr., Bridgeport Telegram.
Arthur S. Barnes, Bristol *Press.*
George W. Flint, Danbury *News.*
Charles Hopkins Clark, Hartford Courant.
* William L. Linke, Hartford Globe.
W. O. Burr, Hartford *Times.*
E. E. Smith, Meriden Record.
Mrs. Matilda Vance, New Britain *Herald.*
J. B. Carrington, New Haven Journal and Courier.
¶ J. D. Jackson, New Haven *Register.*
William A. Hendrick, New Haven *Times-Leader.*
Theodore Bodenwein, New London *Day.*
Julian D. Moran, New London Telegraph.
William H. Oat, Norwich Bulletin.
F. H. Pullen, Norwich *Record.*
Mrs. Emma L. Golden, South Norwalk *Sentinel.*
Thomas W. Bryant, Torrington *Register.*
A. R. Kimball, Waterbury *American.*
William J. Pape, Waterbury Republican.

CUBA

† Nicholas Rivero, Jr., Havana *Diario de la Marina.*
† Nicholas Rivero, Havana Diario de la Marina.
† Manuel Maria Coronado, Havana *Discusion.*
† Rafael R. Govin, Havana Mundo.
George M. Bradt, Havana Post.
† Eduardo Abril Amores, Santiago Diario de Cuba.

DELAWARE

Joseph Bancroft, Wilmington *Every Evening.*
Edgar L. Haynes, Wilmington News.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Edward McLean, Washington Post.
Frank B. Noyes, Washington *Star.*
* Rudolph Kauffmann, Washington Sunday Star.

FLORIDA

Earl J. Weaver, Arcadia News.
D. O. Batchelor, Clearwater *Sun.*
T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Hotel News.
Charles S. Harris, Daytona *News.*
Chris O. Codrington, DeLand *News.*
Henry Ford, Fort Myers *Press.*
W. M. Pepper, Gainesville Sun.
W. R. Carter, Jacksonville *Florida Metropolis.*
Willis M. Ball, Jacksonville Times-Union.

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Marcy B. Darnell, Key West *Citizen.*
H. Fred Smith, Key West Journal.
M. F. Hetherington, Lakeland *Telegram.*
Frank B. Shutts, Miami Herald.
S. B. Dean, Miami *Metropolis.*
R. R. Carroll, Ocala *Star.*
R. B. Brossier, Orlando *Reporter-Star.*
W. M. Glenn, Orlando Sentinel.
Harry R. Cook, Pensacola Journal.
Percy S. Hayes, Pensacola *News.*
H. L. Brown, St. Augustine *Record.*
L. C. Brown, St. Petersburg *Independent.*
W. L. Straub, St. Petersburg Times.
M. A. Smith, Tallahassee *Democrat.*
W. F. Stovall, Tampa Tribune.
D. B. McKay, Tampa *Times.*
L. L. Lucas, Tarpon Springs *Leader.*
J. L. Earman, West Palm Beach Post.

GEORGIA

H. M. McIntosh, Albany *Herald.*
H. J. Rowe, Athens Banner.
Eugene W. Carroll, Athens *Herald.*
Clark Howell, Atlanta Constitution.
¶ John S. Cohen, Atlanta *Journal.*
Thomas W. Loyless, Augusta Chronicle.
¶ Bowdre Phinizy, Augusta *Herald.*
L. P. Artman, Brunswick *Banner.*
C. H. Leavy, Brunswick News.
B. S. Miller, Columbus Enquirer-Sun.
¶ R. W. Page, Columbus *Ledger.*
Charles E. Brown, Cordele *Dispatch.*
R. L. McKenney, Macon *News.*
W. T. Anderson, Macon Telegraph.
C. B. Allen, Moultrie *Observer.*
Royal Daniel, Quitman *Free Press.*
J. Lindsay Johnson, Jr., Rome Tribune-Herald.
F. G. Bell, Savannah Morning News.
Pleasant A. Stovall, Savannah *Press.*
M. M. Cooper, Thomasville *Times-Enterprise.*
E. L. Turner, Valdosta *Times.*
L. V. Williams, Waycross *Journal-Herald.*

HAWAII

J. W. Russell, Hilo *Post-Herald.*
H. B. Mariner, Hilo Tribune.
C. S. Crane, Honolulu Pacific Commercial-Advertiser.
W. R. Farrington, Honolulu *Star-Bulletin.*

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APPENDIX

IDAHO

Calvin Cobb, Boise Statesman.
G. R. Scott, Cœur d'Alene *Press.*
C. C. Wilson, Idaho Falls *Post.*
A. H. Alford, Lewiston Tribune.
L. T. Parsons, Moscow *Star-Mirror.*
William Wallin, Pocatello *Tribune.*
Harry L. Day, Wallace Press-Times.

ILLINOIS

Edward E. Campbell, Alton *Times.*
Albert M. Snook, Aurora *Beacon-News.*
¶ Theodore A. Braley, Bloomington *Bulletin.*
C. C. Marquis, Bloomington Pantagraph.
H. S. Candee, Cairo Bulletin.
John C. Fisher, Cairo *Citizen.*
U. G. Orendorff, Canton *Ledger.*
O. L. Davis, Champaign *Gazette.*
¶ D. W. Stevick, Champaign Daily and Sunday *News.*
‡ Paul F. Mueller, Chicago *Abendpost.*
¶‡ A. W. Brand, Chicago *Freie Presse & Abend Presse* and Chicagoer Presse.
James Keeley, Chicago Herald.
John C. Eastman, Chicago *Journal.*
Victor F. Lawson, Chicago *Daily News.*
J. C. Shaffer, Chicago *Post.*
‡ Horace L. Brand, Chicago Illinois Staats-Zeitung.
Robert R. McCormick, Chicago Tribune.
J. H. Harrison, Danville *Commercial-News.*
Clint C. Tilton, Danville Press.
W. F. Calhoun, Decatur Herald.
¶ J. P. Drennan, Decatur *Review.*
Mrs. Mabel S. Shaw, Dixon *Telegraph.*
L. F. Black, Elgin *News.*
John G. Cary, Freeport *Bulletin.*
James R. Cowley, Freeport *Journal-Standard.*
Edward Grimm, Galena *Gazette.*
William L. Fay, Jacksonville Journal.
A. S. Leckie, Joliet *Herald-News.*
Leslie Small, Kankakee *Republican.*
W. E. Carpenter, Lincoln *Courier-Herald.*
Van L. Hampton, Macomb *By-Stander.*
E. F. Poorman, Mattoon Commercial-Star.
P. S. McGlynn, Moline *Dispatch.*
Hugh R. Moffet, Monmouth *Review.*
J. E. Rackaway, Mount Vernon *News.*
L. B. Sheley, Murphysboro *Republican-Era.*
¶ H. M. Pindell, Peoria *Journal* & Sunday Journal-Transcript.
C. P. Slane, Peoria Transcript.

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H. R. Corwin, Peru *News-Herald.*
C. F. Eichenauer, Quincy *Herald.*
J. R. Wheeler, Quincy *Journal.*
A. O. Lindsay, Quincy Whig.
E. E. Bartlett, Rockford *Register-Gazette.*
Roscoe S. Chapman, Rockford Star.
H. P. Simpson, Rock Island *Argus.*
Lewis H. Miner, Springfield Illinois State-Journal.
Thomas Rees, Springfield Illinois State-Register.
J. D. Stern, Springfield *News-Record.*
Fred LeRoy, Streator Independent-Times.
F. W. Scott, Urbana Illini.

INDIANA

Thomas McCullough, Anderson *Bulletin.*
Edward C. Toner, Anderson Herald.
O. P. Bassett, Elkhart *Review.*
Henry C. Murphy, Evansville Courier.
‡ Fred W. Lauenstein, Evansville Demokrat.
¶ E. T. McNeely, Evansville *Journal-News.*
Lewis G. Ellingham, Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette.
C. F. Bicknell, Fort Wayne *News and Sentinel.*
R. F. Fowler, Frankfort Times.
Homer J. Carr, Gary *Tribune.*
Joseph A. Beane, Goshen *Democrat.*
M. H. Ormsby, Huntington Press.
Delavan Smith, Indianapolis *News.*
Carroll Shaffer, Indianapolis Star.
¶‡ August Tamm, Indianapolis *German Telegraph & Tribune* and Sunday Spottvogel.
J. A. Kautz, Kokomo *Tribune.*
V. J. Obenauer, Kokomo Dispatch.
M. Mayerstein, Lafayette *Courier.*
Henry W. Marshall, Lafayette Journal.
Edgar F. Metzger, Logansport Journal-Tribune.
M. C. Garber, Madison *Courier.*
E. H. Johnson, Marion Leader-Tribune.
Charles E. Coffin, Muncie Star.
F. S. Dodd, Richmond Item.
R. G. Leeds, Richmond *Palladium.*
J. M. Stephenson, South Bend News-Times.
F. A. Miller, South Bend *Tribune.*
Ernest Bross, Terre Haute Star.
A. C. Keifer, Terre Haute *Tribune.*
T. H. Adams, Vincennes Commercial.
Estil A. Gast, Warsaw *Union.*

IOWA

S. G. Goldthwaite, Bonne *News-Republican.*
George A. Stivers, Burlington *Gazette.*

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W. B. Southwell, Burlington Hawk-Eye.
John L. Miller, Cedar Rapids *Gazette.*
Luther A. Brewer, Cedar Rapids Republican.
W. J. Young, Jr., Clinton *Herald.*
P. H. Clark, Council Bluffs Nonpareil.
W. P. Hughes, Council Bluffs *Nonpareil.*
Paul S. Junkin, Creston *Advertiser-Gazette.*
¶ Frank D. Throop, Davenport *Democrat Leader.*
‡ Fred A. Lischer, Davenport Der Demokrat.
E. P. Adler, Davenport *Times.*
Lafayette Young, Jr., Des Moines *Capital.*
Gardner Cowles, Des Moines Register.
Harvey Ingham, Des Moines *Tribune.*
F. W. Woodward, Dubuque Telegraph-Herald.
F. J. McLaughlin, Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald.*
Joseph S. Morgan, Dubuque *Times-Journal.*
Laura H. Smith, Dubuque Times-Journal.
Charles A. Roberts, Fort Dodge *Messenger & Chronicle.*
S. E. Carrell, Iowa City *Press.*
D. W. Norris, Jr., Marshalltown *Times-Republican.*
W. F. Muse, Mason City *Globe Gazette.*
F. G. Mitchell, Mason City Times.
Lee P. Loomis, Muscatine *Journal.*
James R. Rhodes, Newton *News.*
James F. Powell, Ottumwa *Courier.*
John B. Perkins, Sioux City Journal.
W. H. Sammons, Sioux City *Journal.*
John C. Kelly, Sioux City *Tribune.*
J. C. Hartman, Waterloo *Courier & Reporter.*
W. A. Reed, Waterloo Times-Tribune.

KANSAS

R. C. Howard, Arkansas City *Traveler.*
Eugene A. Howe, Atchison *Globe.*
Herbert Cavaness, Chanute *Tribune.*
Will R. Burge, Cherryvale *Republican.*
F. W. Parrott, Clay Centre *Dispatch-Republican.*
H. J. Powell, Coffeyville *Journal.*
Stanley Platz, Coffeyville Sun.
J. C. Denious, Dodge City *Globe.*
Mrs. T. B. Murdock, El Dorado *Republican.*
W. A. White, Emporia *Gazette.*
George W. Marble, Fort Scott *Tribune-Monitor.*
William S. Cady, Fredonia *Herald.*
Will Townsley, Great Bend *Tribune.*
W. Y. Morgan, Hutchinson *News.*
Clyde H. Knox, Independence *Reporter.*
Charles F. Scott, Iola *Register.*
Harry E. Montgomery, Junction City *Union.*
W. C. Simons, Lawrence *Journal-World.*

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Albert T. Reid, Leavenworth *Post.*
D. R. Anthony, Jr., Leavenworth Times.
Paul A. Jones, Lyons *Daily News.*
Fay N. Seaton, Manhattan *Mercury.*
J. C. Mack, Newton *Kansan-Republican.*
R. A. Harris, Ottawa *Herald.*
Frank Motz, Parsons *Sun.*
G. A. Moore, Pittsburg *Headlight.*
William A. Beasley, Pittsburg Sun.
J. L. Bristow, Salina *Journal.*
Arthur Capper, Topeka Capital.
Frank P. MacLennan, Topeka *State Journal.*
H. L. Wood, Wellington *News.*
H. J. Allen, Wichita *Beacon.*
Victor Murdock, Wichita Eagle.
E. P. Greer, Winfield *Courier.*

KENTUCKY

J. B. Gaines, Bowling Green *News-Messenger.*
W. V. Richardson, Danville *Kentucky Advocate.*
Graham Vreeland, Frankfort State-Journal.
C. C. Givens, Henderson Gleaner.
Leigh Harris, Henderson *Journal.*
A. W. Wood, Hopkinsville *New Era.*
¶ John G. Stoll, Lexington *Leader.*
D. Breckenridge, Lexington Herald.
‡ Leo C. Schuhmann, Louisville Anzeiger.
Bruce Haldemann, Louisville Courier-Journal.
D. E. Town, Louisville Herald.
Richard G. Knott, Louisville *Post.*
Henry Watterson, Louisville *Times.*
James Purdon, Maysville Independent.
Charles E. Herd, Middlesboro *Pinnacle News.*
S. W. Hager, Owensboro *Inquirer.*
Urey Woodson, Owensboro Messenger.
John J. Berry, Paducah News-Democrat.
W. F. Paxton, Paducah *Sun.*
S. M. Saufley, Richmond *Register.*
Charles Nelson, Winchester *Democrat.*

LOUISIANA

Mrs. Sophie McCormick, Alexandria *Town-Talk.*
Charles P. Manship, Baton Rouge *State-Times.*
Frank A. Smith, Lake Charles *American-Press.*
C. E. Faulk, Monroe *News-Star.*
James M. Thomson, New Orleans *Item.*
¶ Robert Ewing, New Orleans *States.*
D. D. Moore, New Orleans Times-Picayune.
Hunt McCaleb, Shreveport *Journal.*
T. B. Goodwin, Shreveport Times.

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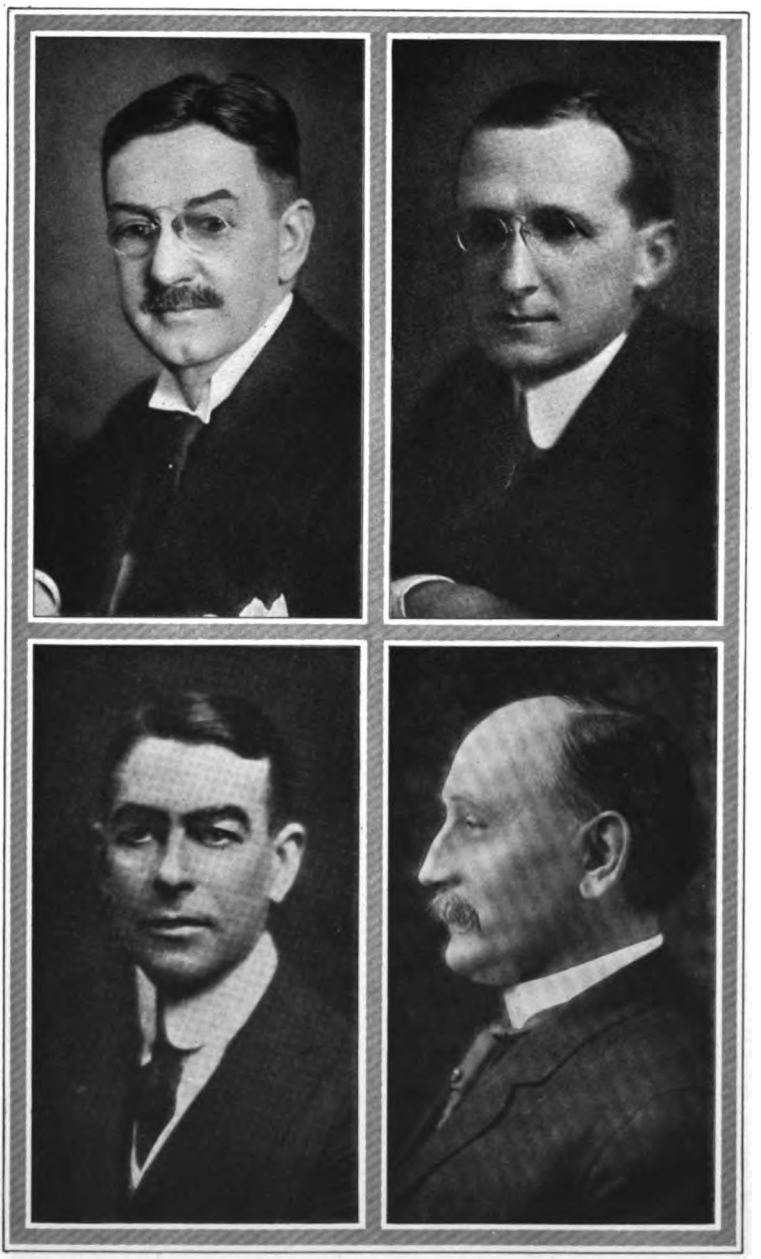

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APPENDIX

MAINE

Charles F. Flynt, Augusta Kennebec-Journal.
J. P. Bass, Bangor *Commercial.*
J. Norman Towle, Bangor News.
F. B. Nichols, Bath *Times.*
C. H. Prescott, Biddeford *Journal.*
F. L. Dingley, Lewiston *Journal.*
George W. Wood, Lewiston Sun.
S. J. Richardson, Portland Eastern Argus.
¶ William H. Dow, Portland *Express & Advertiser* & Sunday Telegram.
Frederick Hale, Portland Press & Sunday Press & Times.
J. H. Kelleher, Waterville Sentinel.

MARYLAND

George T. Melvin, Annapolis *Advertiser.*
Felix Agnus, Baltimore American.
‡ Miss Annie V. Raine, Baltimore Deutsche Correspondent.
¶ William T. Dewart, Baltimore *News.*
Van Lear Black, Baltimore Sun.
H. E. Weber, Cumberland *Times.*
Leonard D. Emmert, Hagerstown *Globe.*
Vernon N. Simmons, Hagerstown Herald.

MASSACHUSETTS

Charles M. Palmer, Boston Daily Advertiser and Boston Sunday Advertiser and American.
John R. Watts, Boston Christian Science Monitor.
Charles H. Taylor, Boston Globe.
Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Boston *Globe.*
Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Boston Herald and Journal.
E. A. Grozier, Boston Post.
Louis C. Page, Boston *Record.*
George S. Mandell, Boston *Transcript.*
James H. Higgins, Boston *Traveler.*
William R. Buchanan, Brockton *Times.*
Michael Sweeney, Fall River *Globe.*
§ Onésime Thibault, Fall River *L'Indépendant.*
Mabel W. Buffinton, Fall River *Herald.*
Frank S. Almy, Fall River *News.*
George H. Godbeer, Fitchburg *Sentinel.*
S. W. Rogers, Gardner *News.*
Robert L. Wright, Haverhill *Gazette.*
A. H. Rogers, Lawrence Eagle.
Kimball G. Colby, Lawrence *Telegram.*
H. R. Rice, Lowell *Courier-Citizen.*
Philip S. Marden, Lowell Courier-Citizen.
John H. Harrington, Lowell *Sun.*
C. H. Hastings, Lynn *Item.*

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Mrs. Mary E. Fox, New Bedford Mercury.
¶ Benjamin H. Anthony, New Bedford *Standard.*
A. W. Hardman, North Adams *Transcript.*
Kelton B. Miller, Pittsfield *Berkshire Eagle.*
Richard Hooker, Springfield Republican.
J. D. Plummer, Springfield *Union.*
A. P. Langtry, Springfield Union.
George F. Booth, Worcester *Gazette.*
John H. Fahey, Worcester *Post.*
A. P. Cristy, Worcester Telegram.

MEXICO

† J. A. del Castillo, Guadalajara Informador.
† Rafael Alducin, Mexico City Excelsior.
† José y Solorzano, Mexico City Pueblo.
† F. F. Palavicini, Mexico City Universal.
† Emeterio Flores, Monterey Progreso.

MICHIGAN

Stuart H. Perry, Adrian *Telegram & Times.*
Thomas J. Ferguson, Alpena *News.*
Gordon Stoner, Ann Arbor Michigan Daily.
R. T. Dobson, Ann Arbor *Times-News.*
Frank C. Grandin, Battle Creek Enquirer.
A. L. Miller, Battle Creek *News.*
Bernard M. Wynkoop, Bay City *Times-Tribune.*
Ephraim W. Moore, Benton Harbor *New-Palladium.*
John R. Pimlott, Calumet *News.*
W. H. Gamble, Cheboygan *Tribune.*
¶‡ A. Marxhausen, Detroit *Abendpost.*
Philip H. McMillan, Detroit Free Press.
N. C. Wright, Detroit *Journal.*
¶ George G. Booth, Detroit *News* & Sunday News.
Ivan G. English, Escanaba *Mirror.*
Charles M. Greenway, Flint *Journal.*
William Alden Smith, Grand Rapids Herald.
Edmund W. Booth, Grand Rapids *Press.*
Albert S. Ley, Hancock *Copper Journal.*
H. J. Burgess, Hillsdale *News.*
W. G. Rice, Houghton Mining Gazette.
John George, Jr., Jackson *Citizen-Press.*
Edward W. Barber, Jackson Patriot.
¶ F. F. Rowe, Kalamazoo *Gazette.*
Charles N. Halsted, Lansing *State Journal.*
Alton T. Roberts, Marquette *Chronicle.*
Albert Hornstein, Marquette Mining Journal.
R. M. Andrews, Menominee *Herald-Leader.*
Ralph H. Booth, Muskegon *Chronicle.*
George T. Campbell, Owosso *Argus-Press.*

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H. H. Fitzgerald, Pontiac *Press-Gazette.*
Louis A. Weil, Port Huron *Times-Herald.*
W. J. Hunsaker, Saginaw Courier-Herald.
Arthur R. Treanor, Saginaw *News.*
George A. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie *News.*

MINNESOTA

A. C. Weiss, Duluth *Herald.*
Milie Bunnell, Duluth News-Tribune.
Frank A. Day, Fairmont *Daily & Martin County Sentinel.*
R. W. Hitchcock, Hibbing *Tribune.*
Michael D. Fritz, Mankato *Free Press.*
H. V. Jones, Minneapolis *Journal.*
Rome G. Brown, Minneapolis *Tribune.*
W. J. Murphy, Minneapolis Tribune.
N. P. Olson, Red Wing *Eagle.*
G. S. Witherstine, Rochester *Bulletin.*
Fred. Schilplin, St. Cloud *Times.*
C. K. Blandin, St. Paul *Dispatch.*
Mrs. A. I. Thompson, St. Paul Pioneer Press.
‡ F. W. Bergmeier, St. Paul *Volkszeitung.*
A. B. Coates, Virginia *Enterprise.*
H. G. White, Winona Independent.
William Hayes Laird, Winona *Republican-Herald.*

MISSISSIPPI

L. Pink Smith, Greenville *Democrat.*
Mrs. M. L. Gillespie, Greenwood *Commonwealth.*
W. G. Wilkes, Gulfport *Herald.*
Howard S. Williams, Hattiesburg *American.*
R. H. Henry, Jackson Clarion-Ledger.
W. G. Johnson, Jackson *News.*
F. W. Sullivan, Laurel *Leader.*
James A. Metcalf, Meridian Dispatch.
R. R. Buvinger, Meridian Star.
James K. Lambert, Natchez Democrat.
E. A. Fitzgerald, Vicksburg Herald.

MISSOURI

Fred Naeter, Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian.*
W. J. Sewell, Carthage *Press.*
H. D. McHolland, Chillicothe *Tribune.*
H. W. Smith, *Columbia Missourian.*
Ovid Bell, Fulton *Gazette.*
J. B. Jeffries, Hannibal *Courier-Post.*
A. H. Rogers, Joplin Globe.
¶ P. E. Burton, Joplin *News-Herald.*
C. S. Gleed, Kansas City Journal.
Mrs. I. H. Nelson, Kansas City *Star.*

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Mrs. L. N. Kirkwood, Kansas City Times.
A. L. Preston, Moberly Index.
Albert Welsz, Moberly *Monitor.*
¶ Anthony D. Stanley, Sedalia *Democrat.*
C. D. Morris, St. Joseph Gazette.
Louis T. Golding, St. Joseph *News & Press.*
Charles H. McKee, St. Louis Globe-Democrat.
¶ Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.*
David R. Francis, St. Louis Republic.
‡ G. A. Buder, St. Louis Westliche Post.
Harry S. Jewell, Springfield *Leader.*
E. E. E. McJimsey, Springfield Republican.
W. B. Rogers, Trenton *Republican-Tribune.*

MONTANA

W. A. Bower, Anaconda Standard.
Joseph Hanlon, Billings Gazette.
J. A. Werner, Billings *Journal.*
James P. Bole, Bozeman Chronicle.
J. K. Heslet, Butte Miner.
J. H. Durston, Butte *Post.*
E. H. Cooney, Great Falls *Leader.*
William M. Bole, Great Falls Tribune.
O. H. P. Shelley, Havre Promoter.
Will A. Campbell, Helena Independent.
O. M. Lanstrum, Helena *Montana Record-Herald.*
T. H. MacDonald, Kalispell *Inter Lake.*
Tom Stout, Lewistown Democrat-News.
Jerome G. Locke, Livingston Enterprise.
Joseph D. Scanlan, Miles City Star.
Martin J. Hutchens, Missoula Missoulian.
George C. Rice, Missoula *Sentinel.*

NEBRASKA

E. M. Marvin, Beatrice Sun.
Ross L. Hammond, Fremont *Tribune.*
A. F. Buechler, Grand Island *Independent.*
Herbert E. Gooch, Lincoln *Star.*
J. C. Seacrest, Lincoln State Journal.
E. F. Huse, Norfolk *News.*
Victor Rosewater, Omaha *Bee.*
N. P. Feil, Omaha Bee.
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Omaha World-Herald.
William G. Crounse, Omaha *World-Herald.*
Thomas Curran, York *News-Times.*

NEVADA

Charles H. Keith, Elko *Independent.*
V. L. Ricketts, Goldfield *Tribune.*

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Graham Sandford, Reno *Gazette.*
George D. Kilborn, Reno, Nevada State Journal.
W. W. Booth, Tonopah *Bonanza.*
L. N. Clark, Jr., Virginia *Chronicle.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

W. D. Chandler, Concord *Monitor.*
George J. Foster, Dover *Democrat.*
W. H. Prentiss, Keene *Sentinel.*
John A. Muehling, Manchester *Leader & Union.*
A. E. Clarke, Manchester *Mirror & American.*
Frank Knox, Manchester Union.
Burtt E. Warren, Nashua *Telegraph.*
F. W. Hartford, Portsmouth Chronicle.
E. T. Kane, Portsmouth *Herald.*

NEW JERSEY

¶ J. L. Kinmonth, Asbury Park *Press.*
* G. Wisner Thorne, Newark Sunday Call.
H. S. Thalheimer, Newark *Star-Eagle.*
‡ James G. Nolan, Newark Freie Zeitung.
L. T. Russell, Newark Ledger.
W. M. Scudder, Newark *News.*
E. A. Bristor, Passaic *Herald.*
George M. Hartt, Passaic *News.*
Robert Williams, Paterson Call.
¶ William B. Bryant, Paterson *Press-Guardian* & Sunday Chronicle.
Charles H. Baker, Trenton State Gazette.

NEW MEXICO

George S. Valliant, Albuquerque *Herald.*
D. A. MacPherson, Albuquerque Journal.
M. M. Padgett, East Las Vegas *Optic.*
Harry Jaff, Roswell *News.*
Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé *New Mexican.*

NEW YORK

James C. Farrell, Albany Argus.
William Barnes, Albany *Journal.*
Lynn J. Arnold, Albany Knickerbocker-Press.
Martin H. Glynn, Albany *Times Union.*
William J. Kline, Amsterdam *Recorder & Democrat.*
Herbert J. Fowler, Auburn *Advertiser.*
Thomas M. Osborne, Auburn *Citizen.*
G. S. Griswold, Batavia *News.*
Jerome B. Hadsell, Binghamton *Press.*
William G. Phelps, Binghamton Republican-Herald.
¶ William Hester, Brooklyn *Eagle.*

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William C. Warren, Buffalo *Commercial.*
W. J. Connors, Buffalo Courier.
James W. Greene, Buffalo Express.
E. H. Butler, Buffalo *News.*
¶ Norman E. Mack, Buffalo *Times.*
W. H. Clark, Cortland *Standard.*
Milo Shanks, Elmira Advertiser.
E. R. Davenport, Elmira *Star-Gazette.*
* H. S. Brooks, Elmira Telegram.
Wallace W. Page, Geneva *News.*
J. Edward Singleton, Glens Falls Post-Star.
Andrew Peck, Gloversville Herald.
Mrs. Julia Collins Ormiston, Gloversville *Leader-Republican.*
William H. Greenhow, Hornell *Tribune-Times.*
John F. Brennen, Hudson *Register.*
Frank E. Gannett, Ithaca *Journal.*
Sherman Peer, Ithaca Cornell Sun.
Frederick P. Hall, Jamestown *Journal.*
Edward L. Allen, Jamestown Post.
Charles M. Redfield, Malone *Telegram.*
Charles A. Evans, Middletown *Argus.*
M. A. Stivers, Middletown *Times-Press.*
Bradford Merrill, New York American.
§ Miss Mary J. Sampers, New York Courrier-des-E.-U.
Jason Rogers, New York *Globe & Commercial Advertiser.*
James Gordon Bennett, New York Herald.
‡ Julius Holz, New York Herold.
‡ Mrs. A. Wolffram, New York *Herold Abend-Zeitung.*
Alfred W. Dodsworth, N. Y. Journal of Commerce.
Henry L. Stoddard, New York *Mail.*
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York *Evening Post.*
‡ Bernard H. Ridder, New York Staats-Zeitung.
‡ Victor F. Ridder, N. Y. *Staats Zeitung-Abendblatt.*
Frank A. Munsey, New York Sun.
George L. Cooper, New York *Telegram.*
Adolph S. Ochs, New York Times.
Ogden M. Reid, New York Tribune.
Don C. Seitz, New York World.
Florence D. White, New York *World.*
F. P. Palmer, Ogdensburg Journal.
William L. Ostrom, Olean *Herald.*
H. W. Lee, Oneonta Star.
Mrs. T. F. Mannix, Plattsburg Press.
Daniel F. Cock, Port Jervis *Gazette.*
F. R. Salmon, Port Jervis *Union.*
Edmund Platt, Poughkeepsie Eagle-News.
Arthur A. Parks, Poughkeepsie *Star.*
W. H. Mathews, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle.
Francis B. Mitchell, Rochester *Post-Express.*
A. C. Kessinger, Rome *Sentinel.*

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A. N. Liecty, Schenectady Gazette.
¶ E. H. O'Hara, Syracuse *Herald.*
Jerome D. Barnum, Syracuse Post-Standard.
* Charles A. MacArthur, Troy Northern Budget.
D. B. Plum, Troy Record.
Henry S. Ludlow, Troy *Record.*
John M. Francis, Troy *Times.*
Prentiss Bailey, Utica *Observer.*
George E. Dunham, Utica Press.
* Jacob Agne, Jr., Utica Tribune.
Edward N. Smith, Watertown *Standard.*
W. D. McKinstry, Watertown *Times.*
E. Willard Barnes, Wellsville *Reporter.*
Edwin A. Oliver, Yonkers *Statesman.*

NORTH CAROLINA

Robert S. Jones, Asheville Citizen.
C. A. Webb, Asheville *Times.*
W. C. Dowd, Charlotte *News & Chronicle.*
W. B. Sullivan, Charlotte Observer.
J. B. Sherrill, Concord *Tribune.*
E. J. Hale, Jr., Fayetteville *Observer.*
Joseph E. Robinson, Goldsboro *Argus.*
E. B. Jeffress, Greensboro News.
Al. Fairbrother, Greensboro *Record.*
D. J. Whichard, Greenville *Reflector.*
P. T. Way, Henderson *Dispatch.*
S. H. Farabee, Hickory *Record.*
Parker R. Anderson, High Point *Enterprise.*
Guy G. Moore, Kinston News.
Owen G. Dunn, New Bern *Sun-Journal.*
Josephus Daniels, Raleigh News & Observer.
John A. Park, Raleigh *Times.*
J. Lawrence Horne, Jr., Rocky Mount *Telegram.*
James F. Hurley, Salisbury *Post.*
W. E. Lawson, Wilmington *Dispatch.*
J. E. Thompson, Wilmington Star.
John D. Gold, Wilson *Times.*
N. L. Cranford, Winston-Salem Journal.
A. B. Burbank, Winston-Salem *Twin City Sentinel.*

NORTH DAKOTA

George D. Mann, Bismarck *Tribune.*
Mrs. Beatrice Mann, Bismarck Tribune.
Herbert E. Gaston, Fargo Courier-News.
N. B. Black, Fargo *Forum & Republican.*
J. D. Bacon, Grand Forks Herald.
O. S. Hanson, Grand Forks *Herald.*
W. R. Kellogg, Jamestown *Alert.*

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E. A. Tostevin, Mandan *Pioneer.*
W. M. Smart, Minot News & Optic-Reporter.
C. A. Johnson, Minot *News & Optic-Reporter.*
C. J. Stickney, New Rockford *State-Center.*

OHIO

¶ W. Kee Maxwell, Akron *Times.*
J. J. Parshall, Ashtabula *Star and Beacon.*
N. A. Geyer, Cambridge *Times.*
¶ George B. Frease, Canton *Repository.*
D. M. Massie, Chillicothe *Scioto Gazette.*
Eli Moffett Millen, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.
Charles J. Bell, Cincinnati Enquirer.
‡ Max Burgheim, Cincinnati Freie Presse.
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati *Times-Star.*
‡ Gerhard Huelsemann, Cincinnati Volksblatt.
¶ W. P. Leech, Cleveland *News* and Sunday Leader.
Elbert H. Baker, Cleveland Plain Dealer.
¶‡ Charles W. Meadje, Cleveland *Waechter und Anzeiger.*
Robert F. Wolfe, Columbus State Journal.
¶ Harry P. Wolfe, Columbus *Dispatch.*
W. E. Putnam, Conneaut *News Herald.*
E. G. Burkam, Dayton Journal.
James M. Cox, Dayton *News.*
Francis L. Bixler, Dover *Daily Reporter.*
John W. Moore, East Liverpool Tribune.
I. N. Heminger, Findlay Republican.
Homer Gard, Hamilton *Journal.*
Walter L. Tobey, Hamilton *Republican News.*
H. M. Paul, Ironton Irontonian.
W. A. Campbell, Lima Republican-Gazette.
H. G. Brunner, Mansfield Shield.
W. H. H. Jett, Marietta *Register-Leader.*
L. L. Lamborn, Marion *Ohio Tribune.*
Miss B. V. R. Skinner, Massillon *Independent.*
F. B. Pauly, Middletown *Journal.*
Donald H. Harper, Mount Vernon *Banner.*
C. H. Spencer, Newark *Advocate.*
Harry E. Taylor, Portsmouth *Times.*
Egbert H. Mack, Sandusky Register.
¶ R. B. Mead, Springfield *News.*
Warren A. Myers, Springfield Sun.
Charles D. Simeral, Steubenville *Herald-Star.*
John P. Locke, Tiffin *Tribune-Herald.*
Robinson Locke, Toledo *Blade.*
‡ Henry C. Vortriede, Toledo *Express.*
Clarence Brown, Toledo Times.
C. H. Lewis, Upper Sandusky *Union.*
Frank C. Gaumer, Urbana Citizen.
Joseph H. Harper, Washington C. H. *Herald.*

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W. J. Galvin, Wilmington *News*.
Samuel G. McClure, Youngstown *Telegram*.
¶ W. F. Maag, Youngstown *Vindicator*.
William O. Littick, Zanesville Times-Recorder.

OKLAHOMA

Byron Norrell, Ada *News*.
H. G. Spaulding, Ardmore *Ardmoreite*.
C. H. Adams, Ardmore Ardmoreite.
J. S. Leach, Bartlesville *Enterprise*.
N. D. Welty, Bartlesville Examiner.
Lou S. Allard, Drumright *Derrick*.
William M. Taylor, Enid *Eagle*.
W. D. Frantz, Enid Times.
Leslie G. Niblack, Guthrie *Leader*.
¶ George R. Hall, Henryetta *Free Lance*.
Eugene McMahon, Lawton News.
J. R. Williams, McAlester *News-Capital*.
¶ J. A. Lloyd, Miami District *Daily News*.
Tams Bixby, Muskogee Phœnix.
C. A. Looney, Muskogee *Times-Democrat*.
Roy E. Stafford, Oklahoma City Oklahoman.
E. K. Gaylord, Oklahoma City *Times*.
¶ B. C. Hodges, Okmulgee *Democrat*.
A. C. Smith, Ponca City *Democrat*.
Otis B. Weaver, Shawnee *News Herald*.
Charles Page, Tulsa *Democrat*.
Eugene Lorton, Tulsa World.

OREGON

J. S. Dellinger, Astoria Astorian.
I. B. Bowen, Baker City Democrat.
Charles L. Springer, Corvallis *Gazette-Times*.
Frank Jenkins, Eugene Register.
A. E. Voorhies, Grant's Pass *Rogue River Courier*
Wesley O. Smith, Klamath Falls *Herald*.
M. C. Maloney, Marshfield *Coos Bay Times*.
George Putnam, Medford *Mail-Tribune*.
S. S. Smith, Medford Sun.
C. J. Owen, Pendleton *Tribune*.
H. L. Pittock, Portland Oregonian.
J. E. Wheeler, Portland *Telegram*.
R. W. Bates, Roseburg *News*.
R. J. Hendricks, Salem, Oregon Statesman.

PENNSYLVANIA

D. A. Miller, Allentown Call.
George H. Hardner, Allentown *City Item*.
B. Leopold, Altoona Times.

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Henry W. Shoemaker, Altoona Tribune.
L. J. Heller, Bethlehem *Times*.
Warren A. Wilbur, Bethlehem *Globe*.
J. W. Milligan, Bradford Era.
Mrs. K. M. Snyder, Connellsville *Courier*.
John H. McGrath, Easton *Express*.
C. N. Andrews, Easton *Free Press*.
Charles H. Strong, Erie Dispatch.
H. D. Shepard, Hanover *Sun*.
V. C. McCormick, Harrisburg Patriot.
E. J. Stackpole, Jr., Harrisburg *Telegraph & Star Independent*.
Henry Walser, Hazelton, Standard Sentinel.
W. W. Bailey, Johnstown Democrat.
W. Frank Gorrecht, Lancaster *Examiner*.
C. S. Foltz, Lancaster *Intelligencer*.
J. H. Steinman, Lancaster News-Journal.
B. S. Schindle, Lancaster *New Era*.
W. I. Bates, Meadville Tribune-Republican.
B. F. Kline, New Castle *Herald*.
P. C. Boyle, Oil City Derrick.
W. L. McLean, Philadelphia *Bulletin*.
James Elverson, Philadelphia Inquirer.
‡ Gustav Mayer, Philadelphia Morgen-Gazette.
E. A. Van Valkenburg, Philadelphia N. American.
Alden March, Philadelphia Press.
Cyrus H. K. Curtis, Philadelphia Public Ledger.
M. F. Hanson, Philadelphia Record.
Thomas D. Taylor, Philadelphia *Telegraph*.
George T. Oliver, Pittsburgh *Chronicle-Telegraph*.
Charles A. Rook, Pittsburgh Dispatch.
George S. Oliver, Pittsburgh Gazette-Times.
¶ A. P. Moore, Pittsburgh *Leader*.
A. E. Braun, Pittsburgh Post.
‡ I. E. Hirsch, Pittsburgh Volksblatt und Freiheits Freund.
J. H. Zerbey, Pottsville *Republican*.
¶ John W. Rauch, Reading *Eagle*.
Dudley H. Miller, Reading *Telegram*.
Frederick S. Fox, Reading News-Times.
W. J. Pattison, Scranton Republican.
J. M. Bloss, Titusville Herald.
H. G. Sturgis, Uniontown *Genius*.
L. B. Brownfield, Uniontown Herald.
W. Floyd Clinger, Warren *Mirror*.
H. W. Bloomfield, Washington *News*.
J. Andrew Boyd, Wilkesbarre Record.
H. R. Laird, Williamsport Gazette & Bulletin.
* Dietrick Lamade, Williamsport Pennsylvania Grit.
George E. Graaf, Williamsport *Sun*.
William L. Young, York Daily.
William L. Taylor, York *Dispatch*.
Allen C. Wiest, York Gazette.

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APPENDIX

RHODE ISLAND

W. D. Hazard, Newport Herald.
T. T. Pitman, Newport *News*.
Charles O. Black, Pawtucket *Times*.
G. Edward Buxton, Jr., Providence *Bulletin*.
D. Russell Brown, Providence *News*.
John R. Rathom, Providence Journal.
¶ M. S. Dwyer, Providence *Tribune*.
George B. Utter, Westerly *Sun*.
S. E. Hudson, Woonsocket *Call & Reporter*.

SOUTH CAROLINA

G. P. Browne, Anderson *Mail*.
James Simons, Charleston News and Courier and Sunday News.
Thomas R. Waring, Charleston *Post*.
Edwin N. Robertson, Columbia *Record*.
A. E. Gonzales, Columbia State.
M. C. Brunson, Florence *Times*.
G. W. Gardner, Jr., Greenwood *Journal*.
B. H. Peace, Greenville News.
George R. Koester, Greenville *Piedmont*.
Charles O. Hearon, Spartanburg Herald.
Max Bridges, Spartanburg *Journal & Carolina Spartan*.
H. G. Oseen, Sumter *Item*.
Lewis M. Rice, Union *Times*.

SOUTH DAKOTA

J. H. McKeever, Aberdeen Daily American.
C. J. McLeod, Aberdeen *News*.
Willis H. Bonham, Deadwood Pioneer Times.
W. S. Bowen, Huron *Huronite*.
John A. Stanley, Lead *Call*.
F. L. Mease, Madison *Sentinel*.
W. R. Ronald, Mitchell *Republican*.
A. E. Dean, Mitchell Republican.
Walter E. Woolf, Mobridge *Tribune*.
Joseph B. Gossage, Rapid City Journal.
C. M. Day, Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*.
C. L. Dotson, Sioux Falls Press.
K. B. Way, Watertown Public Opinion.
S. X. Way, Watertown *Public Opinion*.
W. C. Lusk, Yankton *Press & Dakotan*.

TENNESSEE

G. F. Milton, Chattanooga *News*.
H. C. Adler, Chattanooga Times.
W. W. Barkesdale, Clarksville *Leaf Chronicle*.
I. B. Tigrett, Jackson *Sun*.

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E. M. Slack, Johnson City *Staff*.
A. F. Sanford, Knoxville Journal & Tribune.
Curtis B. Johnson, Knoxville *Sentinel*.
W. J. Crawford, Memphis Commercial-Appeal.
S. E. Ragland, Memphis *News-Scimitar*.
E. B. Stahlman, Nashville *Banner*.
Luke Lea, Nashville Tennesseean & American.

TEXAS

George S. Anderson, Abilene *Reporter*.
M. B. Hanks, Abilene Reporter-News.
J. L. Nunn, Amarillo News.
Robert Driscoll, Austin American.
¶ R. E. L. Batts, Austin *Statesman*.
W. P. Hobby, Beaumont Enterprise.
Charles L. Shless, Beaumont *Journal*.
Martin J. Slattery, Brownsville *Herald*.
H. F. Mayes, Brownwood *Bulletin*.
E. E. Talmage, Bryan *Eagle*.
J. R. Ransone, Jr., Cleburne *Enterprise*.
O. H. Poole, Cleburne Review.
Robert J. Kleberg, Corpus Christi Caller & Herald.
A. A. Wortham, Corsicana *Sun*.
George B. Dealey, Dallas News.
Edwin J. Kiest, Dallas *Times-Herald*.
H. E. Ellis, Denison *Herald*.
W. C. Edwards, Denton *Record & Chronicle*.
H. D. Slater, El Paso *Herald*.
Frank Powers, El Paso Times.
† J. F. Williams, El Paso Times.
G. G. Dunkerley, Ennis *News*.
W. H. Bagley, Fort Worth Record.
Louis J. Wortham, Fort Worth *Star & Telegram*.
C. H. Leonard, Gainesville *Register & Messenger*.
John F. Lubben, Galveston News.
C. H. McMaster, Galveston *Tribune*.
Fred Horton, Greenville *Banner*.
L. J. Thompson, Hillsboro *Mirror*.
M. E. Foster, Houston *Chronicle* and *Herald*.
R. M. Johnston, Houston Post.
J. G. Burr, Laredo Record.
Justo S. Penn, Laredo *Times*.
B. G. Whitehead, McAllen Rio Grande Sun.
J. M. Kennedy, Marlin *Democrat*.
W. A. Adair, Marshall *Messenger*.
J. L. Spencer, Mart *Herald*.
W. M. Hamilton, Palestine *Herald*.
Jesse G. Marshall, Paris *Advocate*.
Sayers Boyd, Paris News.
L. M. Davis, Port Arthur *Record*.

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APPENDIX

¶ J. G. Murphy, San Angelo *Standard.*
F. G. Huntress, Jr., San Antonio Express.
Charles S. Diehl, San Antonio *Light.*
E. C. Hunter, Sherman *Democrat.*
George T. Spears, Sweetwater *Reporter.*
Mrs. P. O. Willson, Taylor *Democrat.*
E. K. Williams, Temple Telegram.
H. Galbraith, Terrell *Transcript.*
H. A. McDougal, Tyler *Courier-Times.*
L. M. Green, Tyler Tribune.
Charles E. Marsh, Waco News.
George Robinson, Waco *Times-Herald.*
J. H. Railey, Weatherford *Herald.*
¶ Ed. Howard, Wichita Falls *Times.*
Wyche Greer, Wichita Falls Tribune.
C. H. Gilbert, Yoakum *Herald.*

UTAH

Charles England, Logan *Journal.*
J. U. Eldredge, Jr., Ogden Examiner.
R. C. Glasmann, Ogden *Standard.*
Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake *Deseret News.*
E. E. Jenkins, Salt Lake Herald-Republican.
George E. Hale, Salt Lake *Telegram.*
A. N. McKay, Salt Lake Tribune.

VERMONT

Frank E. Langley, Barre *Times.*
F. E. Howe, Bennington *Banner.*
W. E. Hubbard, Brattleboro *Reformer.*
Henry B. Shaw, Burlington *News.*
W. B. Howe, Burlington Free Press & Times.
George Atkins, Montpelier *Argus.*
Percival W. Clement, Rutland Herald.
Charles T. Fairfield, Rutland *News.*
E. C. Smith, St. Albans *Messenger.*
W. D. Pelley, St. Johnsbury *Caledonian.*

VIRGINIA

P. M. Burdette, Bristol Herald-Courier.
R. A. James, Jr., Danville *Bee.*
R. A. James, Danville Register.
George B. Keezell, Harrisonburg News-Record.
Powell Glass, Lynchburg *Advance.*
Carter Glass, Lynchburg News.
John G. Pollard, Newport News Press.
W. S. Copeland, Newport News *Times-Herald.*
S. L. Slover, Norfolk *Ledger-Dispatch.*
Hugh C. Davis, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot & Landmark.

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W. E. Harris, Petersburg Index-Appeal.
Norman R. Hamilton, Portsmouth *Star*.
Eugene Paddock Ham, Pulaski *Southwest Times*.
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond *News-Leader*.
Charles E. Hasbrook, Richmond Times Dispatch.
W. E. Thomas, Roanoke Times.
J. B. Fishburn, Roanoke *World-News*.
H. L. Opie, Staunton Leader.
E. W. Opie, Staunton *Evening Leader*.

WASHINGTON

W. A. Rupp, Aberdeen *World*.
Frank I. Sefrit, Bellingham American-Reveille.
E. G. Earle, Bellingham *Herald*.
R. W. Edinger, Centralia *Chronicle*.
M. E. Cue, Centralia *Hub*.
J. Clifford Kaynor, Ellensburg *Record*.
J. B. Best, Everett *Herald*.
A. S. Taylor, Everett Tribune.
Albert Johnson, Hoquiam Grays Harbor Washingtonian.
J. H. Douglass, Olympia *Recorder*.
A. V. Watts, Port Angeles *Herald*.
Scott C. Bone, Seattle Post Intelligencer.
C. B. Blethen, Seattle *Times*.
Thomas Hooker, Spokane *Chronicle*.
W. H. Cowles, Spokane Spokesman-Review.
S. A. Perkins, Tacoma Ledger & Sunday News Ledger.
O. W. Perkins, Tacoma *News*.
E. E. Beard, Vancouver *Columbian*.
John G. Kelly, Walla Walla *Bulletin*.
E. G. Robb, Walla Walla Union.
Rufus Woods, Wenatchee *World*.
H. P. Barrett, Yakima Herald.
W. W. Robertson, Yakima *Republic*.

WEST VIRGINIA

H. I. Shott, Bluefield Telegraph.
T. S. Clark, Charleston Gazette.
Walter E. Clark, Charleston *Mail*.
¶ V. L. Highland, Clarksburg *Telegram*.
Herman G. Johnson, Elkins *Inter-Mountain*.
C. E. Smith, Fairmont Times.
W. J. Weigel, Fairmont *West Virginian*.
Howard H. Holt, Grafton *Sentinel*
Dave Gideon, Huntington Herald-Dispatch.
Gray Silver, Martinsburg *World*.
Jo L. Keener, Morgantown *Post*.
Gilbert B. Miller, Morgantown New Dominion.
Miss Hannah L. G. Kane, Parkersburg News.

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A. B. Smith, Parkersburg *Sentinel.*
R. P. Bell, Point Pleasant *Register.*
H. C. Ogden, Wheeling Intelligencer and Sunday News.
F. P. McNell, Wheeling *News.*
William L. Brice, Wheeling Register.
C. H. Henderson, Wheeling *Telegraph.*

WISCONSIN

Percy C. Atkinson, Eau Claire Leader.
J. F. Cooley, Grand Rapids *Leader.*
John K. Kline, Green Bay *Press-Gazette.*
H. F. Bliss, Janesville *Gazette.*
A. M. Brayton, La Crosse *Tribune & Leader Press.*
William T. Evjue, Madison *Capital-Times.*
Oscar D. Brandenburg, Madison Democrat.
William F. Ohde, Manitowoc *Herald.*
Edward W. LeRoy, Marinette *Eagle Star.*
‡ William C. Brumder, Milwaukee *Germania-Abendpost.*
‡ George F. Brumder, Milwaukee Herold und Seebote and Sonntagspost.
Lucius W. Nieman, Milwaukee *Journal.*
Melvil A. Hoyt, Milwaukee *News.*
Charles F. Pfister, Milwaukee Sentinel.
Mrs. Harriet L. Cramer, Milwaukee *Wisconsin.*
John Hicks, Oshkosh *Northwestern.*
F. W. Starbuck, Racine *Journal-News.*
H. A. Lewis, Rhinelander *News.*
Charles H. Weisse, Sheboygan *Press.*
J. T. Murphy, Superior *Telegram.*
J. L. Sturtevant, Wausau *Record-Herald.*

WYOMING

Percy M. Cropper, Casper *Press.*
B. H. Sinclair, Cheyenne State Leader.
William C. Deming, Cheyenne *Wyoming Tribune.*
W. E. Chaplin, Laramie *Republican.*
¶ T. C. Diers, Sheridan *Enterprise.*

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C

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(New York Corporation)

WE, THE undersigned, all being persons of full age, and all being citizens of the United States, and at least one of whom is a resident of the State of New York, desiring to form a corporation for the purposes hereinafter set forth, pursuant to the provisions of the Membership Corporations Law, entitled, "An Act Relating to Membership Corporations," approved May 8, 1895, as since from time to time amended, DO HEREBY MAKE, SIGN and ACKNOWLEDGE this Certificate, and we accordingly do hereby CERTIFY:

I. The name of the proposed corporation is "THE ASSOCIATED PRESS."

II. The said corporation is an association of certain persons, who, owning or representing certain newspapers, unite in a mutual and co-operative organization for the collection and interchange, with greater economy and efficiency, of information and intelligence for publication in the newspapers owned or represented by them. Other owners or representatives of newspapers, from time to time, may be elected to membership in such manner and upon and subject to such conditions, regulations and limitations as may be prescribed by the By-Laws, and no person not so elected shall have any right or interest in the corporation or enjoy any of the privileges or benefits thereof.

The objects and purposes for which the said corporation is formed are to gather, obtain and procure by its own instrumentalities, by exchange with its members and by any other appropriate means, any and all kinds of information and intelligence, telegraphic and otherwise, for the use and benefit of its members and to furnish and supply the same to its members for publication in the newspapers owned or represented by them, under and subject to such regulations, conditions and limitations as may be prescribed by the By-Laws; and the mutual co-operation, benefit and protection of its members. In furtherance of its said object and purposes it shall have power to purchase and acquire in the State of New York and elsewhere such real and personal estate and property as may be necessary or proper, and to mortgage the same to secure the payment of any bonds which may be issued by the corporation, and generally to do any and all things which may be necessary or proper

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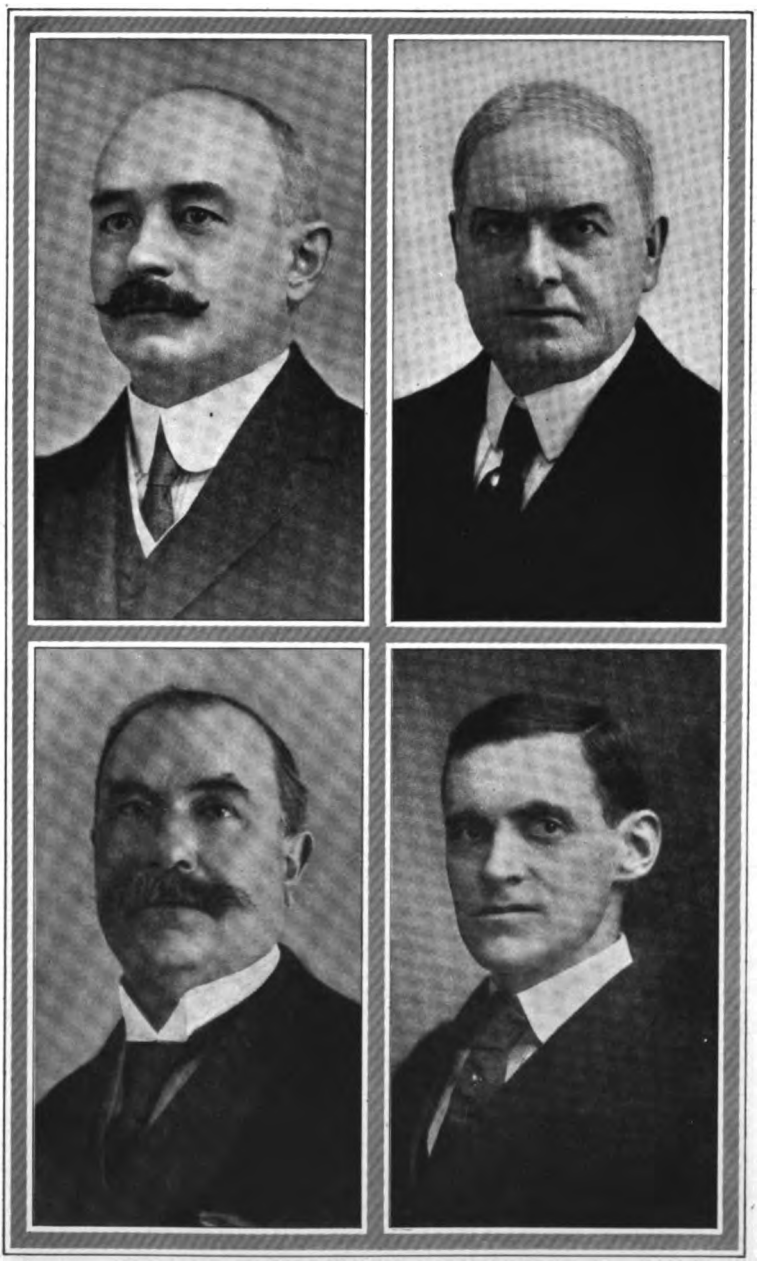

ROBERT M. COLLINS, London
SALVATORE CORTESI, Rome
ELMER ROBERTS, Paris
CHARLES S. SMITH, Peking

Foreign Bureau Chiefs

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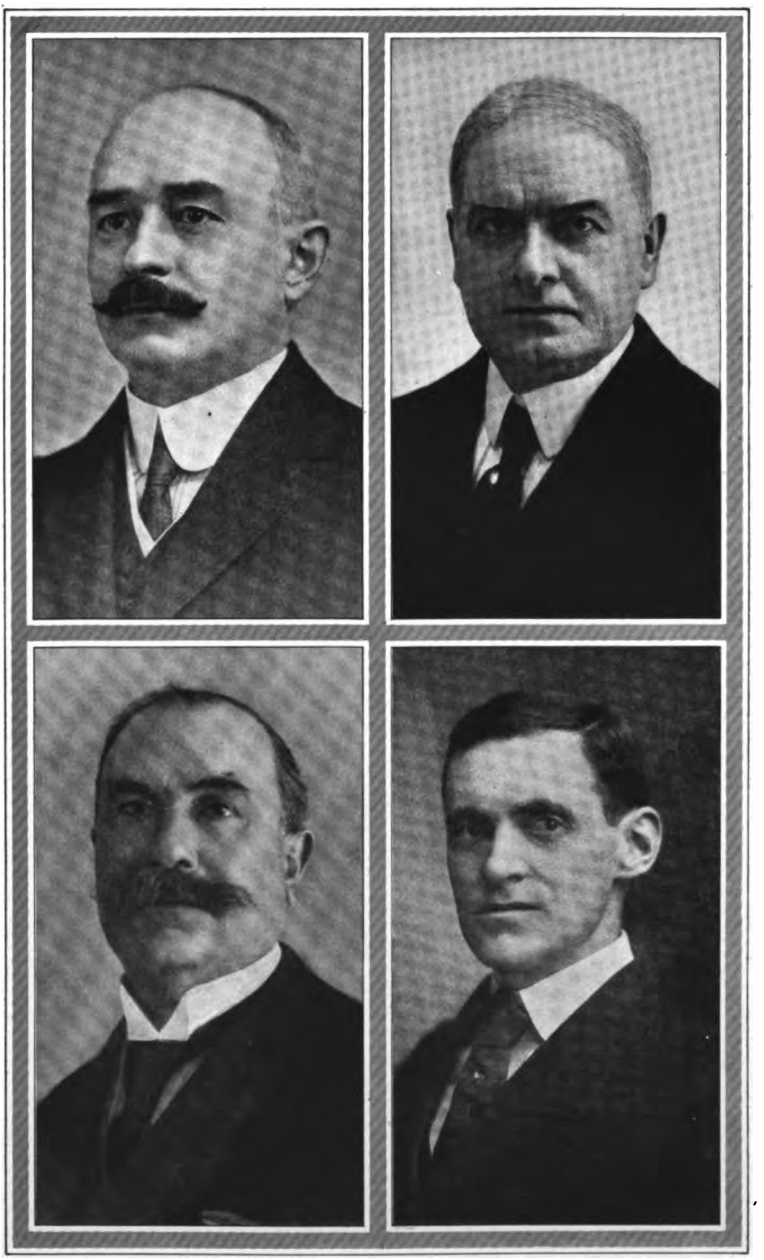

ROBERT M. COLLINS, London
SALVATORE CORTESI, Rome
ELMER ROBERTS, Paris
CHARLES S. SMITH, Peking

Foreign Bureau Chiefs

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in connection with its objects and purposes, which may not be contrary to law.

The corporation is not to make a profit nor to make or declare dividends and is not to engage in the business of selling intelligence, nor traffic in the same.

III. The territory in which the operations of the corporation are to be principally conducted is within the limits of the United States of America and its Territories and Canada, but it is also to have power to conduct such operations in part outside of the limits of the United States, so far as may be necessary in accomplishing the objects and purposes of its organization.

IV. The principal office of the Corporation is to be located in the City of New York, in the State of New York.

V. The duration of such corporation is to be perpetual.

VI. The number of Directors of such Corporation is to be six.*

The names and places of residence of the persons who are to be its Directors until its first annual meeting are:

Name	*Place of Residence*
STEPHEN O'MEARA	262 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
ADOLPH S. OCHS	41 Park Row, Borough of Manhattan, New York City.
ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY	Corner Washington and Johnson Streets, Borough of Brooklyn, New York City.
WILLIAM L. MCLEAN	612 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
FRANK B. NOYES	1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.
ALFRED H. BELO	Corner Lamar and Commerce Streets, Dallas, Texas.

VII. The date for holding its annual meeting shall be the third Wednesday in September of each year.†

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we, the subscribers, have made, signed and acknowledged this Certificate in duplicate, and have hereunto subscribed our names, this twenty-second day of May, 1900.

STEPHEN O'MEARA,
ADOLPH S. OCHS,
ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY,
WILLIAM L. MCLEAN,
FRANK B. NOYES,
A. H. BELO.

* By resolution of the members of the Association, adopted September 29, 1900, and filed with the Secretary of State November 21, 1900, the number of Directors was increased to fifteen.

† By resolution of the members of the Association, adopted September 18, 1907, and filed with the Secretary of State September 21, 1907, the time of the annual meeting was changed to "the Tuesday preceding the fourth Thursday in April of each year."

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BY-LAWS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(New York Corporation)

ARTICLE I

OBJECTS

The incorporators of this Association are certain persons, who, owning or representing newspapers, unite in a mutual and co-operative organization for the collection and interchange, with greater economy and efficiency, of intelligence for publication in the newspapers owned or represented by them. Other owners or representatives of newspapers, from time to time, may be elected to membership in the manner and upon and subject to the conditions, regulations and limitations prescribed by these By-Laws, and no persons not so elected shall have any right or interest in the Corporation or enjoy any of the privileges or benefits thereof.

The objects and purposes for which the Corporation is formed are to gather, obtain and procure by its own instrumentalities, by exchange with its members, and by any other appropriate means, any and all kinds of information and intelligence, telegraphic and otherwise, for the use and benefit of its members, and to furnish and supply the same to its members for publication in the newspapers owned or represented by them, under and subject to such regulations, conditions and limitations as may be prescribed by the By-Laws; and the mutual co-operation, benefit and protection of its members. In furtherance of its said objects and purposes it shall have power to purchase and acquire in the State of New York and elsewhere such real and personal estate and property as may be necessary or proper, and to mortgage the same to secure the payment of any bonds which may be issued by the Corporation, and generally to do any and all things which may be necessary or proper in connection with its objects and purposes, which may not be contrary to law.

The Corporation is not to make a profit, nor to make or declare dividends, and is not to engage in the business of selling intelligence nor traffic in the same.

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. The sole or part owner of a newspaper, or an executive officer of a corporation, limited liability company, or joint stock or

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other association which is the owner of a newspaper, shall be eligible to election as a member of this Corporation, in the way and upon and subject to the conditions and limitations hereinafter specified, provided that not more than one person at a time shall be eligible by reason of connection with any one newspaper. No other person shall be eligible.

SEC. 2. Every applicant for membership in this Corporation shall file with the Secretary of the Corporation such proof as may be required by its Board of Directors of his ownership or part ownership, or of the ownership by a corporation, limited liability company, or joint stock or other association of which he is an executive officer, of a specified newspaper. In case he shall be only a part owner, he shall file also the consent of his co-owners to his election. In case he shall be an executive officer of a corporation, limited liability company, or joint stock or other association, he shall file also a certificate to that effect under its seal in such form as may be required by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 3. In case any member shall cease to be the owner, or part owner, of the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership; or shall cease to be an executive officer of a corporation, limited liability company, or joint stock or other association which is the owner of the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership, he shall *ipso facto*, and without action by this Corporation, cease to be a member, and he shall no longer enjoy any of the privileges of the Corporation. He may, however, in that case (provided that he is not then under process of discipline for violation of any By-Law, rule or regulation of the Corporation) assign his certificate of membership to any other owner or part owner or executive officer of the corporation, limited liability company or joint stock or other association which is the owner of such newspaper, who shall thereupon become a member upon signing the roll of members, and assenting to the By-Laws, and, even without such assignment, such other executive officer, owner or part owner, thereupon shall become entitled to membership, and upon filing the certificate or satisfactory proof that he is such officer, owner or part owner, hereinbefore mentioned, and upon signing the roll of members, and assenting to the By-Laws, he shall at once become and be a member with all the privileges and subject to all the duties of membership, *provided*, however, that his predecessor was not, at the time when he ceased to be a member, under any process of discipline for violation of any By-Law, rule or regulation of this Corporation. In case of the death of any member who is the sole owner of the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership his legal representatives may assign his certificate of membership to his successor in the ownership of said newspaper who shall thereupon become a member upon signing the roll of members and assenting to the By-Laws. In case of the death of any member who is the part owner of the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership a co-owner of said newspaper shall be entitled to succeed to his membership upon signing the roll of members and assenting to the By-Laws.

SEC. 4. When a change shall be made in the ownership of any newspaper for which a member of this Corporation is entitled to receive a news service, the member may transfer his certificate of membership with his newspaper, and the new owner shall be constituted a member

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by virtue of such assignment upon complying with the requirements prescribed by the next succeeding article of these By-Laws.

SEC. 5. Whenever the name of any newspaper mentioned in any membership certificate shall be changed in any respect, the member holding such certificate shall thereupon give written notice of the change to the Secretary and shall return his certificate of membership to be cancelled, whereupon a new certificate in like terms shall be issued, designating the newspaper by its new name.

SEC. 6. All rights and interest of any member in the property and privileges of the Corporation shall cease with the termination of his membership.

SEC. 7. Every member shall be eligible to election and to enjoy the privileges of membership, solely by virtue of his relation to the newspaper named in his certificate of membership, and shall be held responsible for any violation of the By-Laws by himself or by any other person connected with such newspaper to the same extent that he would have been responsible had the violation been committed by him personally.

ARTICLE III

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Members may be elected by the affirmative vote of not less than four-fifths of all the members of the Corporation at any regular meeting of the members of the Corporation or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Such votes may be cast in person or by proxy.

SEC. 2. Members may also be elected by the Board of Directors, when no meeting of the members of the Corporation is in session, provided that whenever any member of the Corporation is entitled as hereinafter specified to protest against election of any new member by the Board of Directors, the Board shall have no power to elect such new member unless it shall have received a waiver in writing of such right of protest from all members entitled thereto, but no right of protest shall be held to prevent the Board of Directors from electing to membership the owner, part owner or executive officer of any corporation, limited liability company, joint stock or other association, which is the owner of any newspaper which was entitled to a service of news under an existing contract with The Associated Press (of Illinois), on the 13th day of September, 1900.

SEC. 3. When any person shall have ceased to be a member and his successor shall have become entitled to membership as provided in the last preceding article, such successor, upon filing with the Secretary proper proof that he is entitled to membership, and signing the roll of members and in writing assenting to the By-Laws, shall forthwith become and be a member, and be entitled to all the privileges and subject to all the duties and obligations of membership, and the Board of Directors at the next meeting held thereafter shall formally elect such successor and ratify his admission as a member.

SEC. 4. A person elected or entitled to become a member in any of the ways hereinbefore provided, shall not be admitted to membership,

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nor shall he be a member, nor shall he be entitled to any of the rights or privileges of membership until, either in person or by proxy duly constituted in writing, he shall have signed the roll of members and in writing shall have assented to the By-Laws and agreed to be bound thereby and by any amendments thereto, which may be thereafter regularly adopted.

SEC. 5. To each member there shall be issued a certificate of membership signed by the President and by the Secretary of this Corporation, and bearing its seal. The certificate shall designate the newspaper for which the member shall be entitled to receive the news report of this Corporation, until he shall cease to be a member or until his right shall be suspended or terminated under the By-Laws; it shall specify the language in which the newspaper is to be printed; whether it is a morning or an afternoon newspaper, and the place of its publication; it shall state whether the member is to receive a day or a night report; it shall state the extent and nature of the member's right of protest, if such right shall have been accorded to him under the By-Laws as hereinafter set forth; it shall state the obligation of the member to furnish the news of a prescribed district, and to pay the regular weekly dues and other assessments as they may be, from time to time, fixed by the Board of Directors; it shall state that the holder thereof has assented to and is in all respects subject to and bound by the By-Laws; in other respects it shall be in such form and shall contain such provisions as shall be prescribed by the Board of Directors; it shall not be transferable except to the extent and in the way hereinbefore provided.

SEC. 6. The members of this Corporation may, by an affirmative vote of seven-eighths of all the members, confer upon a member (with such limitations as may be at the time prescribed) a right of protest against the admission of new members by the Board of Directors. The right of protest, within the limits specified at the time it is conferred, shall empower the member holding it to demand a vote of the members of the Corporation on all applications for the admission of new members within the district for which it is conferred except as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

SEC. 7. If a member having a right of protest makes a waiver, subject to specified conditions, such waiver shall be effective only as stated therein.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the members of The Associated Press shall be held in the City of New York, at eleven o'clock A.M. on the Tuesday preceding the fourth Thursday in April of each year, for the election of Directors and such other business as may be presented.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the members shall be called by the President and Secretary upon the order of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee, or whenever a request in writing therefor shall be received by the Secretary bearing the signatures of fifty of the members of the Corporation. No business shall be transacted at a special meeting except such as may be embraced in the call therefor.

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SEC. 3. The Secretary shall give notice of all meetings of the members by mailing to each member at his given address a written or printed notice stating the time and place of meeting, and the business to be considered, if a special meeting. Such notices shall be mailed thirty days before the annual meeting, and fifteen days before special meetings. Special meetings may, however, be held for any purpose, without notice, at any time when all the members are present or duly represented by proxy.

SEC. 4. A member may be represented at any meeting by a properly authorized proxy who shall file a lawful power of attorney with the Secretary. No salaried officer or employee of the Corporation shall hold a proxy or vote upon the same.

SEC. 5. To constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, at least a majority of the members must be present either in person or by proxy, except as otherwise provided by Section 25 of the General Corporation Law of the State of New York in the case of special elections of Directors. A minority may adjourn from time to time until a quorum shall be present.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. The affairs of the Corporation shall be managed by fifteen Directors, at least two of whom shall be residents of the State of New York.

SEC. 2. Each Director shall be a member of this Corporation, and any Director who shall cease to be so qualified shall thereby cease to be a Director.

SEC. 3. The six Directors to hold office until the first annual meeting of the members of this Corporation shall be those named in the Certificate of Incorporation. The Directors elected at such first annual meeting shall forthwith divide themselves by lot into three classes of equal number. The Directors of the first class shall hold office until the first annual meeting after their election. The Directors of the second class shall hold office until the second annual meeting after their election, and those of the third class shall hold office until the third annual meeting after their election.

SEC. 4. At each annual meeting the members and those entitled to vote upon bonds, as hereinafter provided, shall elect Directors to succeed those whose terms expire at such meeting, and also to fill any vacancies in the Board of Directors which may have occurred since their last annual meeting. At each annual meeting after the first, the Directors elected to fill the places of those whose terms have expired, shall be elected for a term of three years, and Directors shall in all cases continue in office until their successors are elected.

SEC. 5. The Board of Directors shall, in addition to the powers elsewhere granted by the By-Laws, or otherwise conferred by law, have power to make contracts; to fill vacancies in their own number until the next annual meeting; to elect and remove officers and agents; to engage and discharge employees; to fix the compensation of officers,

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agents and employees; to borrow money; to issue bonds; to authorize a mortgage or mortgages; to expend the money of the Corporation for its lawful purposes, and to do all acts, not inconsistent with the Certificate of Incorporation, or the By-Laws, which it may deem for the best interests of the Corporation, and in general shall have the control and management of all the affairs of the Corporation, except as otherwise provided in the By-Laws. The votes of a majority of all the Directors shall be required to elect or remove an officer.

SEC. 6. The Board of Directors shall annually appoint an Executive Committee of not less than five of its own number, who shall hold office for one year or during the pleasure of the Board and shall have the same powers as the Board except the powers in respect to the election and discipline of members as specified in Articles III and X of these By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall keep a full record of its acts and proceedings, and report all action taken by it to the next meeting of the Board. Vacancies therein shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 7. The Board of Directors shall annually appoint an auditing committee of not less than two persons, not of its own number, to examine the accounts of the Corporation.

SEC. 8. The Board of Directors from time to time may, by resolution, appoint other committees for special purposes designating their duties and powers.

SEC. 9. The Board of Directors shall make a report of all its doings and of the affairs of the Corporation for each fiscal year, a copy of which shall be sent to each member at least twenty days prior to each annual meeting. Such fiscal year shall end on December 31st in each year. The Board of Directors shall also cause to be mailed to each member a report of the proceedings of each meeting of the Corporation and of the Board of Directors as soon after the holding of such meeting as practicable.

SEC. 10. The Board of Directors shall have power to adopt a corporate seal and alter the same at its pleasure.

SEC. 11. The Board of Directors shall hold, at the City of New York, a meeting on the day preceding the annual meeting of the members, and also another meeting for the election of officers and for other purposes, on the day succeeding the annual meeting of the members. It shall fix, by resolution from time to time, the dates of the other regular meetings of the Board, of which there shall be not less than two, in every year, in addition to the two herein provided for. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the President or any three Directors. Notice of all meetings shall be given by telegraphing or by mailing a notice thereof to each Director at least five days before the date of the meeting, which notice shall be sent either by the Secretary, the President or the Directors calling the meeting. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum, but in case a quorum shall not be present a minority may adjourn from time to time until a quorum shall be obtained. The meetings of the Board of Directors—except as hereinbefore provided—shall be held either in the City of New York, or elsewhere, as may be specified in the resolutions of the Board fixing the dates of regular meetings, and in the notices calling special meetings.

SEC. 12. The Board of Directors, from time to time, by resolution

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may provide for all matters in respect to which no provision is made by these By-Laws.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Corporation shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall be elected annually by ballot by the Board of Directors at its first meeting after the annual meeting of members. The President shall be selected from among the Directors; the Vice-Presidents shall be selected from the membership of the Corporation; the other officers need not be members of the Corporation.

SEC. 2. All officers shall hold their respective offices for one year after their election and until their successors are elected and qualified, unless removed by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 3. The President shall preside over all meetings of the members and Board of Directors at which he may be present, and shall exercise general supervision and control over the affairs of the Corporation, subject to the direction of the Board.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the First Vice-President, in case of the absence of the President, or his inability to act, to exercise all his powers and discharge all his duties; in case of the absence or disability of both the President and First Vice-President, it shall be the duty of the Second Vice-President to exercise all the powers and discharge all the duties of the President; and in case of the absence or disability of the President, the First Vice-President and the Second Vice-President, a President *pro tempore* shall be chosen by the Board.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall attend all meetings of the members, of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep a true record of the proceedings thereof; he shall cause to be kept in the office of the Corporation all contracts, leases, assignments, other instruments in writing, and documents not properly belonging to the office of Treasurer; he shall execute all certificates of membership, bonds, contracts and other instruments authorized to be made or executed by or on behalf of the Corporation; *provided*, that all instruments requiring the corporate seal shall also be executed by the President or a Vice-President. He shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Secretary, in case of the absence of the Secretary, or his inability to act, to exercise all his powers and discharge all his duties.

SEC. 7. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys of the Corporation, safely keep the same, and pay out such sums as may be authorized by the Board of Directors. He shall give a bond in such amount as the Board may require.

SEC. 8. The officers may receive such compensation as may from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

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APPENDIX

ARTICLE VII

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. At all meetings of the members of the Corporation, each member may cast one vote by virtue of his membership, and such additional votes as he may be entitled to cast as the holder of bonds issued by the Corporation.

SEC. 2. Each member shall be entitled, upon compliance with the provisions of the By-Laws, to receive a service of news for the purpose of publication in the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership, and for that purpose only. The nature and extent of the news service to be so received by the member shall be determined by the Board of Directors, upon his admission, and the initial dues or assessment shall be fixed at the same time and by the same authority, subject, however, to change as hereinafter provided in Article IX.

SEC. 3. The nature and extent of the news service to any member may be changed from time to time by the Board of Directors; *provided*, that this section must not be construed to give the Board of Directors authority to grant a news service in violation of the right of protest as hereinbefore specified, or to omit the news service to any member except for cause as provided in these By-Laws.

SEC. 4. The news service of this Corporation shall be furnished only to the members thereof, or to the newspapers represented by them and specified in their certificates of membership.

SEC. 5. A member shall publish the news of The Associated Press only in the newspaper, the language, and the place specified in his certificate of membership and he shall not permit any other use to be made of the news furnished by the Corporation to him or to the newspaper which he represents.

SEC. 6. The time limits for the receipt and publication of news by members shall be (standard time in all cases at the place of publication) as follows: Morning papers to receive not later than 9 A. M. and to publish not earlier than 9 P. M., except that for editions to be circulated only outside of the city of publication not earlier than the following morning, morning papers may publish not earlier than 5 P. M. and that Sunday editions so published may be circulated in the city of publication after 8 P. M. Saturday; afternoon papers to receive not later than 6 P. M. and to publish not earlier than 9 A. M., the service to afternoon papers between 4 P. M. and 6 P. M. to be of bulletin character; *provided*, that the Board of Directors may authorize that upon extraordinary occasions The Associated Press despatches may be used in extra editions or for bulletins outside of the hours named.

SEC. 7. By the vote of a majority of the Board of Directors, a member may be permitted to withdraw upon payment of all dues, assessments and other obligations, and upon the surrender and cancellation of his certificate of membership and upon such other terms as the Board of Directors may fix. If any member shall apply to the Board of Directors for permission to withdraw, and the same shall be refused, he may nevertheless give written notice to the Secretary of his intention to withdraw, and six months after such notice shall have been received, he may termi-

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nate his membership upon payment of all dues, assessments and other obligations to the date of his final withdrawal.

SEC. 8. No news furnished to the Corporation by a member shall be supplied by the Corporation to any other member publishing a newspaper within the district which the Board of Directors shall have described in defining the obligations of such member to furnish news to the Corporation.

ARTICLE VIII

DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Each member shall comply with all the provisions of the By-Laws and such amendments as may be adopted from time to time.

SEC. 2. During the term of his membership or until his right to the receipt of the news report of this Corporation shall be terminated in the manner hereinafter provided for, each member shall pay all dues, assessments and other obligations as the same may be fixed and apportioned by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 3. Each member shall take the news service of the Corporation and publish the news regularly in whole or in part in the newspaper named in his Certificate of Membership. He shall also furnish to the Corporation all the news of his district, the area of which shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 4. In places where the Corporation has a correspondent, the members shall afford to such correspondent convenient access at all times to the news in their possession, which they are required to furnish as aforesaid, and in places where the Corporation has no correspondent the members shall supply the news required to be furnished by them in such manner as may be required by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 5. The news which a member shall furnish as herein required shall be all such news as is spontaneous in its origin, but shall not include any news that is not spontaneous in its origin, or which has originated through deliberate and individual enterprise on the part of such member or of the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership.

SEC. 6. No member shall furnish, or permit any one in his employ or connected with the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership to furnish, to any person who is not a member, the news of the Corporation in advance of publication, or to another member any news received from the Corporation which the Corporation is itself debarred from furnishing to such member, nor conduct his business in such a manner that the news furnished by the Corporation may be communicated to any person, firm, corporation, or association not entitled to receive the same.

SEC. 7. No member shall furnish, or permit any one to furnish, to any one not a member of this Corporation, the news which he is required by the By-Laws to supply to this Corporation.

SEC. 8. Members shall print in their newspapers such credit to the Corporation, or to any paper or other source from which news may be obtained, as shall be required, from time to time, by the Board of Directors.

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SEC. 9. No member shall anticipate the publication of any document of public concern, confided to this Corporation for use on a stipulated date, however said member may have secured said document.

ARTICLE IX

APPORTIONMENT OF EXPENSES

SECTION 1. The cost of collecting, exchanging and transmitting the news service, as well as all other expenses of the Corporation, shall be apportioned among the members by the Board of Directors, in such manner as it may deem equitable, and the Board shall levy assessments upon the members therefor. The Board of Directors may change such apportionment and assessment, from time to time, and may also levy assessments upon the members in order to accumulate a surplus fund for emergency purposes, provided that any increase of assessment exceeding 50 per cent. shall require the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the Directors. There shall be no right to question the action of the Board of Directors in respect to such apportionment or assessments, either by appeal to a meeting of members, or otherwise, but the action of the Directors, when taken, shall be final and conclusive.

SEC. 2. All regular assessments levied against members shall be payable weekly in advance, and the Treasurer or other authorized agent of the Corporation shall draw on each member therefor. Such assessments shall be paid promptly, and, if any assessment draft shall be unpaid at the end of three days after presentation, a penalty of 10 per cent. thereon shall be added thereto, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary thereupon to notify the member in default that the news service will be discontinued at the expiration of two weeks from the date of the notice, unless all overdue assessments and penalties shall have been paid to the Treasurer of the Corporation before that date, and, if the same are not so paid, such news service shall thereupon be discontinued.

ARTICLE X

FINES, SUSPENSIONS, ETC.

SECTION 1. When the Board of Directors shall decide that a member has violated any of the provisions of the By-Laws, it may, by a two-thirds vote of all the Directors, impose upon such member a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or suspend his privileges of membership or present him for expulsion as hereinafter provided, or it may both suspend his privileges and present him for expulsion. Before any such action shall be taken, however, it shall give to the member affected an opportunity to be heard in his own defense upon ten days' notice in writing of the time and place at which he will be so heard.

SEC. 2. When the privileges of a member are suspended, his news service shall be discontinued, and notice of the suspension shall be sent at once by the Secretary to all the members. Any order of suspension may be repealed by the affirmative vote of a majority of the whole

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Board of Directors, and notice thereof shall be sent at once by the Secretary to all the members.

SEC. 3. The term for which a member may be suspended by the Board of Directors shall not extend beyond the next annual meeting of the members.

SEC. 4. Any member so suspended may, at his option, retain his membership, and, at the expiration of the period for which he shall have been suspended, or upon the repeal of the suspension as hereinbefore provided for, he shall again become entitled to receive the news service as called for in his Certificate of Membership, or such member may withdraw from the Corporation upon paying all dues, assessments and other obligations then due or incurred and unpaid.

SEC. 5. The action of the Board of Directors on any of the foregoing matters mentioned in this article shall be final and conclusive. No member shall have any right to question the same.

ARTICLE XI

EXPULSION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. The members of the Corporation, at any regular meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, shall have the right to expel a member for any violation of these By-Laws, or for any conduct on his part, or on the part of any one in his employ or in the employ of or connected with the newspaper designated in his certificate of membership, which in its absolute discretion it shall deem of such a character as to be prejudicial to the interests and welfare of the Corporation and its members, or to justify such expulsion. The action of the members of the Corporation in such regard shall be final and there shall be no right of appeal against or review of such action.

SEC. 2. Before the Corporation may entertain a motion to expel a member there shall be a formal presentation of such member either by the order of the Board of Directors after a hearing as hereinbefore provided, or through a written notification signed by five members. The member affected shall have a right to be heard in his own behalf before the motion to expel is put to a vote.

SEC. 3. If a member is to be presented for expulsion without previous hearing by the Board of Directors the notice of presentation shall be filed with the Secretary of the Corporation at least three weeks prior to the meeting of the members at which action is to be taken, and the Secretary shall forward a certified copy to the member affected within three days after receiving such notice.

SEC. 4. When a member shall be presented by the order of the Board of Directors he may be expelled by the affirmative vote of a majority of all the votes cast on the question. When a member shall be presented through a notification signed by five members and without the order of the Board of Directors, he may be expelled only by the affirmative vote of four-fifths of all the members.

SEC. 5. A member who has been expelled shall be eligible for readmission only upon the terms and conditions applicable to new members.

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APPENDIX

ARTICLE XII

BONDS

SECTION 1. This Corporation shall have power to borrow money, and to make and issue bonds as evidences of indebtedness therefor, and to secure the same by mortgage upon its property; *provided*, that such bonds shall not be issued to an amount exceeding the aggregate sum of $150,000.

SEC. 2. The Board of Directors, at any regular meeting or at any special meeting called for that purpose, may authorize the execution and issue of such bonds in such amounts not exceeding the aggregate principal sum of $150,000, to such persons including themselves, payable at such times and with such rate of interest and in such form as it may deem advisable, *provided*, that every bond, so issued, shall contain a provision that the Corporation shall have the right to redeem the same at its face value, with the interest due or accrued thereon, whenever it shall come into the possession of any one not a member of this Corporation. And it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors, whenever bonds are presented for registration in the name of any one not a member of this Association, to exercise the right of redemption herein provided for and pay for such bonds out of any funds in the Treasury available for the purpose or out of an assessment to be levied upon members in proportion to the weekly assessment paid by them. The Board of Directors may make such provision for the registration of such bonds as it may deem best. The Board of Directors may also authorize the execution of a mortgage upon the property of the Corporation to secure the payment of such bonds.

SEC. 3. The registered owner and holder of any such bonds may file with the Secretary a waiver of any claim to interest on the bonds held by him, and he shall thereupon become entitled at any meeting of the members of this Corporation for the election of Directors to cast one vote, either in person or by proxy, for Directors upon each $25 of such bonds registered in his name for not less than twenty days prior to such meeting, provided that no bondholder shall have the right to vote upon more than $1,000 of said bonds, and shall not have the right to vote on any bond that shall have been called for redemption at any time before such election.

ARTICLE XIII

PUBLICATION

SECTION 1. The publication required to be made by every member shall be that of a *bona fide* newspaper, continuously issued, as specified in the Membership Certificate, to a list of genuine paid subscribers. A publication conducted for the purpose of preserving a membership, and not for public sale and distribution, shall not be or be regarded as a sufficient compliance with the By-Laws. The irregular publication of his newspaper shall be sufficient ground for suspension of a member, in the discretion of the Board of Directors.

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SEC. 2. A Membership Certificate which authorizes publication on seven days in a week shall be held to be fully complied with by publication on six days, and such cessation of publication on one day shall not affect the member's right to receive and publish the news service on seven days whenever he may elect so to do.

ARTICLE XIV

DISCLAIMER OF LIABILITY

SECTION 1. Neither the Corporation nor its Officers nor Directors nor any of them shall in any event be liable to a member for any loss or damage arising by reason of the publication of any of the news received by him from the Corporation, or by reason of his suspension or expulsion, and his signature to the roll of members and assent to the By-Laws shall constitute a waiver of any such claim.

ARTICLE XV

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

SECTION 1. These By-Laws may be amended only by the Board of Directors at any regular meeting of said Board by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the Directors of the Corporation, but no amendment shall become operative or take effect until the same shall have been recommended or ratified by a vote of four-fifths of all the members of the Corporation at a meeting, regularly convened.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Resolved, That this Board define the word "publication," as used in Art. VIII, Sec. 9 of the By-Laws, to mean the relinquishment of the control of the sheets or any of them, by the publisher, either by sale or by deposit in the post-office, or by transfer in any way to hands not directly controlled by the said publisher, so that if any copies, printed, or in any other form, shall be permitted to go outside the office of the newspaper intrusted with an advance copy of a public or other document, it shall be deemed a violation of the By-Laws. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That the news report of The Associated Press should comprehend such news only as is of general interest and must not include in any territory any specific variety of news not desired by a majority of the members receiving a report on the wires affected. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That the transmission of editorial opinions upon political or partisan matters is contrary to the policy of The Associated Press. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That it is contrary to the policy of The Associated Press that any salaried employee of The Associated Press serve any newspaper as a special correspondent. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That in the appointment of the Auditing Committee provided for under the By-Laws, each of the several Advisory Boards shall nominate to the Board of Directors on or before the first day of May of each year one member of the Association, not a Director, as a member

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of said committee, and the persons thus nominated, when appointed by the Board, shall have full access to all books, accounts, vouchers and other information appertaining to the financial administration of The Associated Press, and shall prepare therefrom such report to the President as will verify the exact condition of said finances; which report shall be submitted with other reports at the annual meeting of The Associated Press. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That hereafter no person shall be appointed on the Auditing Committee who is not a member of The Associated Press. (Dec. 11, 1901.)

Resolved, That the examinations thus provided for shall be made at the offices of The Associated Press in the City of New York, and each member of the Auditing Committee shall receive as compensation his actual traveling expenses, and also the sum of $10 *per diem* for each day engaged in said examination. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That it is the duty of the General Manager, and of all subordinate employees, to report promptly any violation of the By-Laws or of the regulations prescribed by the Board of Directors. (May 14, 1902.)

Resolved, That the placing of an operator of any other news-gathering or distributing association in the office of an Associated Press paper is a step which establishes a condition which will be likely to permit the news of this Corporation to be disclosed to unauthorized persons and so endangers the inviolability of the news service of The Associated Press, that it is seriously prejudicial to the interest and welfare of this Corporation and its members, and the Board of Directors, by authority of the By-Laws, hereby forbid any member of The Associated Press from so placing an operator of any other news-gathering or distributing association in his office or elsewhere in any building partially occupied by the offices of an Associated Press paper, where the employees of the paper and representatives of the other news-gathering organization may come in contact, or in any other manner so conduct his business that the news furnished to him by The Associated Press, or the news that the member is obliged to supply to The Associated Press exclusively, may be communicated to any person, firm, Corporation or Association not entitled to receive the same, and that the executive officers of the Association be directed to use all necessary and proper means for the enforcement of this order. (Feb. 20, 1901—Amended April 26, 1917.)

Resolved, That the violation of a release order by one member does not justify the publication by any other member of a document confided to this Corporation in advance of the time of publication stated in said document. (Sept. 18, 1902.)

Resolved, 1, That where a member, representing a corporation, owning a morning and an evening newspaper, published in the same city, both papers taking The Associated Press service, refuses to accept in advance of release a document or copy of a speech, that the same document or speech shall not be tendered to the member representing the other papers owned by the said corporation.

2. That when any member of this Association refuses to accept a public document or a copy of a speech given in confidence in advance of release, that the source from which said public document or copy of speech was given into the possession of The Associated Press be notified.

3. That where any member refuses to accept any advance document when first offered, said document shall not thereafter be furnished said member, until after said advance document is released for publication. (Dec. 11, 1907.)

Resolved, That meetings of the Board of Directors of The Associated

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Press shall be held in the City of New York in the month of April, both the day before and the day succeeding the Annual Meeting, on the first Wednesday in October, and on the second Wednesday in December. (Sept. 19, 1907.)

Resolved, At points where morning papers are entitled to copy of the day report the delivery of the day report should be made to such morning papers at 3 P. M., and not before. At points where afternoon papers are entitled to copy of the night report, delivery of that report to such afternoon papers should be made at 5 A. M., and not before. (Sept. 21, 1905.)

Resolved, That it is the duty of each member of The Associated Press to co-operate with the management to secure the most expeditious delivery possible to all members of any special emergency bulletin. (Dec. 13, 1911.)

Resolved, That the public display of news upon bulletin boards at the main office or branch offices of a newspaper in its city of publication, as defined in its certificate of membership, does not constitute a violation of the By-Law which provides that no member shall furnish the news of The Associated Press in advance of publication to any person who is not a member of The Associated Press. (April 21, 1913—Amended Dec. 14, 1916.)

Resolved, That the publication of any matter improperly designated by commission or omission as Associated Press matter, hurtful to the character and repute of the service, shall be regarded as conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Association, and the member so offending shall be cited to appear before the Board of Directors for violation of the By-Laws. (April 22, 1914.)

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Board of Directors that the bulletin service as referred to in the amendment to the By-Laws adopted to-day by the Board of Directors means that the service so furnished between the hours of 4 P. M. and 6 P. M. shall contain nothing but brief, skeleton summaries of news of high importance, including sporting. (April 19, 1915.)

Resolved, That, pursuant to the authority conferred upon the Board of Directors by Section 8, Article VIII, of the By-Laws, it is ordered that members shall retain in The Associated Press news service, as printed in their newspapers, such credit to The Associated Press as appears in the news service transmitted, and that members shall print such credit at all times as the management of the organization may direct. (April 26, 1917.)

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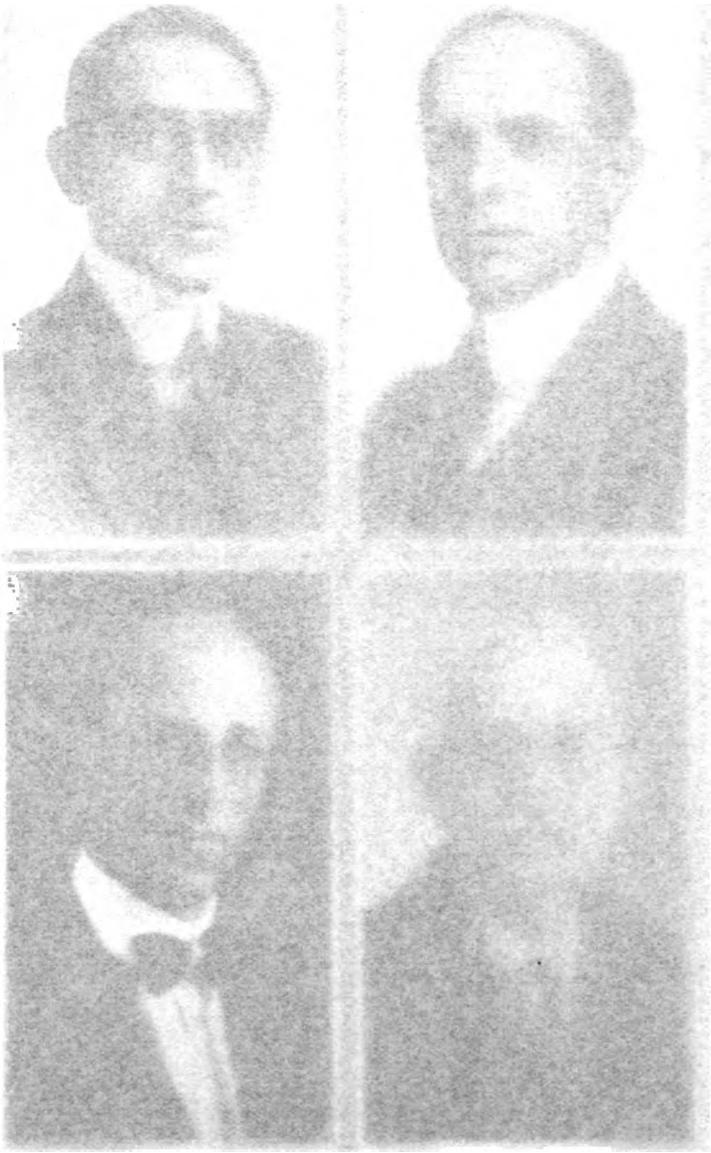

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JOSEPH E. SHARKEY
TOKIO BUREAU

S. B. CONGER
BERLIN BUREAU

WALTER C. WHIFFEN
PETROGRAD BUREAU

WM. H. REITHLE
THE VETERAN OF THE SERVICE—1869

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LATER CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(March 15 to April 10, 1918)

ADDITIONS

CALIFORNIA—Julius Ebel, Santa Maria *Times.*
KENTUCKY—J. R. Lemon, Mayfield *Messenger.*
NEW MEXICO—S. L. Perry, Carlsbad *Current.*
TEXAS—S. R. Whitley, Jacksonville *Progress;* G. E. Watford, Lufkin *News;* N. P. Houx, Mexia *News;* O. M. Gibbs, Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel;* Ed. S. Blackshear, Navasota *Examiner-Review;* C. E. Palmer, Texarkana Four States Press.

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP

MEXICO—Mexico City Pueblo—Gregorio Velesquez succeeds José Y Solorzano.
NEW MEXICO—Albuquerque *Herald*—H. B. Hening succeeds George S. Valliant.

CHANGES IN NAMES OF PAPERS

PENNSYLVANIA—Harrisburg *Telegraph & Star Independent* changed to Harrisburg *Telegraph.*
UTAH—Salt Lake Herald-Republican changed to Herald-Republican-Telegram; Salt Lake *Telegram* changed to *Telegram-Herald-Republican.*

DISCONTINUANCES OF MEMBERSHIP

FLORIDA—T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Hotel News; Chris O. Codrington, Deland *News.*
ILLINOIS—James R. Cowley, Freeport *Journal-Standard.*
OHIO—Henry C. Vortriede, Toledo *Express.*

ERRATA

The Jackson (Tenn.) *Sun* and the Centralia (Wash.) *Chronicle* should bear the ¶ mark indicating evening papers having also Sunday-morning editions.

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